THE FIRST PART OF THE LIFE AND raigne of King *Henrie the IIII.*

Extending to the end of the firſt yeare of his raigne.

Written by I. H.

Imprinted at London by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be ſolde at his ſhop in Popes head Alley, neere to the Exchange. 1599.

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Illustrissimo & honoratissimo *Roberto Comiti Essexiæ & Ewe*, Comiti Mareschallo Angliæ, Vicecomiti Herefordiæ & *Bourchier : Baroni Ferrariis de Chartley*, Domino Bourchier & Louen : Regiæ Maiestati Hypocomo : *Machinarum bellicarum præfecto : Academiæ Cantabrigiensis* Cancellario : Ordinis Georgiani Equiti aurato : *Serenissimæ Domino Reginæ a sanctioribus consiliis :* Domino meo plurimum obseruando.

Ἄριστε καὶ γενναιότατε : *optimo & Nobilissimo* (*in quit* Euripides) *ex qua sententia tu primus ac solus fere occurrebas* (*illustrissime comes*) *cuius nomen si Henrici nostri fronti radiaret, ipse & latior & tutior in vulgus prodiret. Magnus siquidem es, & presenti iudicio, & futuri temporis expectatione : in quo, veluti recuperasse nunc oculos, cæca prius fortuna videri potest ; Dum cumulare honoribus eum gisti, qui omnibus virtutibus est insignitus. Hunc igitur si læta fronte excipere digneris, sub nominis tui vmbra* (*tanquam sub* Aiacis *clipio* Teucer *ille* Homericus) *tutissime latebit. Deus opt. max. celsitudinem tuam nobis, reique publicæ diu seruet in columen : quo nos vz. tam fide quam armis potenti tua dextra defensi, vltique, diutina cum securitate tum gloria perfruamur.*

Honori tuo deditissimus.

I. Hayvvarde.

Faultes eſcaped in the Printing

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43	13	too	two
44	13	in reporting	to reporting
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71	35	*Buſh*	*Buſhie*
75	05	officers of ſo long	offers of ſo large
75	11	Caſtell Trim	Caſtell of Trim
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100	10	taking	raking
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A. P. *to the Reader.*

Mong all ſortes of humane writers, there is none that haue done more profit, or deſerued greater prayſe, then they who haue committed to faithfull records of Hiſtories, eyther the gouernment of mighty ſtates, or the liues and actes of famous men: for by deſcribing the order and paſſages of theſe two, and what euents hath followed what counſailes they haue ſet foorth vnto vs, not onely precepts, but liuely patterns, both for priuate directions and for affayres of ſtate: whereby in ſhorte time young men may be inſtructed; and ould men more fullie furniſhed with experience then the longeſt age of man can affoorde. And therefore *Cicero* reporteth that *L. Lucullus*, when he went from Rome to make warre againſt *Mithridates*, was altogether vnskilfull in Militarie ſeruices: yet in the time of his Nauigation hee ſo exerciſed himſelfe what with conference, and what with reading of hiſtories, that when hee came into Aſia, by the iudgement and confeſſion of that great King, hee was preferred before all the commaunders that were before him. Heerevpon when *Alexander Seuerus* did deliberate of anye weightie matter, hee would eſpeciallye take aduiſe of men

skilfull in histories, and not without good cause: for if (as *Afranius* saith) experience hath begot Wisedome, and Memory as a mother hath brought it foorth; who are to be better accompted then they whose memory is as it were a rich storehouse, of the experiences not of one age or Country, but of all times and of all nations. And therefore it is no great maruaile that *Zenobia*, who after the death of her husband *Odonatus* tooke vpon her the state, not onely insulted vpon the Romanes, but held the Arabians, the Saricenes, the Armenians, and other fierce and intractible people, in such obedience, that although shee were both a woman and a Barbarian, yet they neuer stirred against her: for shee had perfectly red the Romaine historie in Greeke, and also had her selfe abridged the Alexandrian and all the Orientall histories, whereby she attained the highest pitch both of Wisedome and authority: for examples are of greater force to stirre vnto vertue, then bare precepts, insomuch as *Cicero* said that nothing could be taught wel without example. Therfore the Lacedemonians (as *Plutarch* writeth) did vse vpon festiual dayes to present vnto their Sons certainn drunken slaues whom they called εἵλωτας: that by view of the vice they might learne to auoyde it, and *Hismenias* the Thebane, would shew to his Schollers musitians of all sortes good and bad, instructing them to followe the one and not the other. And this is that which the *Apologie* telleth of a certaine Countrie woman, who being hard fauoured, and fearing least shee should bring foorth children like her selfe, got many faire and beautifull Pyctures, which shee did dayly and steedfastly beholde: the meaning whereof is, that by setting before vs the actes and liues of excellent men, it is the readiest way to fashion our qualities according to the same.

Heereupon *Cicero* doeth rightly call history the witnesse of times, the light of truth, the life of memory, and the

messenger

messenger of antiquity, Heereby wee are armed against all the rage and rashnesse of Fortune: and heereby wee may seeme (in regarde of the knowledge of thinges) to haue trauelled in all Countries, to haue liued in all ages, and to haue been conuersant in all affayres. Neyther is that the least benefit of history, that it preserueth eternally, both the glory of good men, and shame of euill. Some Philosophers doe deny, that glory is to be desired: for vertue (say they) is a reward vnto it selfe, & must not be respected for the vaine and titulare blasts of glory: yet in wryting these things, they affect that especially, which they especially depraue. And indeed there is no man hath so horny hart strings, (as *Persius* speaketh) who is not tickled with some pleasure of praise: against there is no man of so flinty a forehead, who is not touched with some feare of infamy and shame. Doe we thinke that the valiant souldier thinketh no toyle too tough, but boldly aduentureth the hazard of all happes, because he is weary of his life? death commeth by nature to all men alike, onely with difference of memory with posterity.

And I would thinke that Cities at the first were builded, lawes made, and many things inuented for the vse of men, chiefly for desire of glory: which humour except the old gouernours of common wealths, had thought necessary, they would neuer haue fostered it as they did, with Garlands, statutes, trophies and triumphes, in which notwithstanding it is but temporary and short; but in histories of worth it is onely perpetual. This *Cicero* perceiuing he dealt with *Lucceius* to cómit his actions to the monuments of his writings: and *Plinie* the yonger did wish that he might be mentioned in the histories of *Cornelius Tacitus*, because he did foresee that they should neuer decay.

But these are such as are not led away with a lust, eyther to flatter or to deface, whereby the creadite of historie is quite ouerthrowne. Yet the endeuour to curry fauour

is more easily disliked, as bearing with it an open note of seruility, and therefore *Alexander* when he heard *Aristobulus* read many things that he had written of him farre aboue truth, as he was sayling the floud *Hidaspis*, he threw the booke into the Riuer, and sayd that hee was almost mooued to send *Aristobulus* after for his seruile dealing; but enuious carping carieth a counterfeite shew of liberty, and thereby findeth the better acceptance.

And since I am entred into this point, it may seeme not impertinent to write of the stile of a history, what beginning, what continuance, and what meane is to bee vsed in all matter, what thinges are to bee suppressed, what lightly touched, and what to be treated at large: how creadit may be won, and suspition auoyded: what is to bee obserued in the order of times, and description of places and other such circumstances of weight; what liberty a writer may vse in framing speeches, and in declaring the causes, counsailes and euentes of thinges done: how farre hee must bend himselfe to profit: and when and how hee may play vpon pleasure, but this were too large a fielde to enter into: therefore least I should run into the fault of the *Mindians*, who made their gates wider then their towne, I will heere close vp; onely wishing that all our English histories were drawne out of the drosse of rude and barbarous English: that by pleasure in reading them, the profit in knowing them, myght more easily bee attayned.

THE FIRST PARTE OF THE LIFE AND RAIGNE OF KING Henry the fourth,

Extending to the end of the first yeere of his raigne.

THe noble and victorious Prince, King *Edward* the third, had his fortunate gift of a long and prosperous raigne ouer this realme of England, much strengthened and adorned, by natures supply of seuen goodlye sonnes. *Edward* his eldest sonne, prince of Wales, commonly called the Blacke Prince: *William* of Hatfield: *Lyonel*, Duke of Clarence: *John* of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: *Edmund* of Langley, Duke of Yorke: *Thomas* of Woodstocke Duke of Glouceſter: and *William* of Windsore. These sonnes, during the life of their renowmed Father, were such ornaments and such stayes to his estate, as it seemed no greater could be annexed thereunto. For neither armies, nor strong holdes are so great defences to a prince, as the multitude of children:

Fortes may decay, and forces decreaſe and both decline and fall away, eyther by varietie of fortune, or inconſtancie of mens deſires: but a mans owne bloud cleaueth cloſe vnto him; not ſo much in the bliſſes of proſperitie, which are equally imparted to others, as in the croſſes of calamity, which touch none ſo neere, as thoſe that are neereſt by nature. But in ſucceeding times they became in their ofspring, the ſeminarie of diuiſion and diſcord, to the vtter ruine of their families, and great waſt and weakning of the whole Realme: for they that haue equall dignitie of birth and bloud, can hardly ſtoope to termes of ſoueraignty, but vpon euery offer of occaſion wil aſpire to indure, rather no equall then any ſuperiour, and for the moſt part, the hatred of thoſe that are neereſt in kind, is moſt diſpiteſull & deadly if it once breake forth. The feare of this humor cauſed *Romulus*, to embrewe the foundations of the Citie and Empire of Rome, with the bloud of his brother *Remus*. According to which example, the Tyrants of Turkie, thoſe butchers of Sathan, doe commonly at this day beginne their raigne, with the death and ſlaughter of all their brethren.

Prince *Edward* the thunderbolt of warre in his time, dyed during the life of his father. And although, he was cut off in the middle courſe, and principall ſtrength of his age, yet in reſpect of honour and fame he liued with the longeſt, hauing in all parts fulfilled the meaſure of true Nobilitie. He left behind him a young ſonne called *Richard*, who after the death of King *Edward*, was Crowned king in his ſteade, and afterward dyed child-leſſe.

William of Hatfield king *Edwards* ſecond ſonne, dyed alſo without iſſue, leauing no other memorie of his name, but the mention onely.

Lionell Duke of Clarence, the third ſonne of King *Edward*, was a man of comely perſonage, of ſpeech and pace ſtately, in other qualities of a middle temperature, neither to bee admitted nor contemned, as rather voide of ill partes, then

then furniſhed with good. He had iſſue *Philip* his only daughter, who was ioyned in marriage to *Edmunde Mortimer*, Earle of March: Who in the Parliament holden in the eight yeare of the raigne of King *Richard*, was in the right of his wife, declared heire apparant to the Crowne, in caſe the King ſhould die without children; but not many yeares after he dyed, leauing iſſue by the ſaid *Philip*, *Roger Mortimer* Earle of March. This *Roger* was ſlaine in the rude and tumultuous warres of Ireland, and had iſſue *Edmund*, *Anne*, and *Elinor*. *Edmund* and *Elinor* died without iſſue. *Anne* was married to *Richard* Earle of Cambridge, ſonne to *Edmund* of *Langley* Duke of Yorke, the fift ſonne of King *Edward*. Of theſe two came *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of Yorke: who by the right deuolued to him from his mother, made open claime to the Crowne of England, (which was then poſſeſſed by the family of Lancaſter) firſt by law, in the Parliament holden the thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of King *Henrie* the ſixt: where either by right or by fauour, his cauſe had ſuch furtherance, that after King *Henrie* ſhould die, the Crowne was entayled to him, and to the heires of his bloud for euer. But the Duke impatient to linger in hope, choſe rather to endure any daunger, then ſuch delay: Wherevpon hee entred into armes ſoone after, againſt King *Henrie* in the field. But being caried further by courage, then by force hee coulde beare through, he was ſlaine at the battaile of Wakefield, and left his title to *Edward* his eldeſt ſonne: who with inuincible perſiſtance did proſecute the enterpriſe, and after great varietie of fortune at the laſt atchieued it.

Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, the fourth Sonne of King *Edward* the third, was a man of high and hardie ſpirit, but his fortune was many times not anſwerable, either to his force or to his forecaſt. He had two ſonnes *Henry* Earle of Derby (of whom I purpoſe chiefly to treate) and *Iohn* Earle of Somerſet. This *Iohn* was father to *Iohn* Duke of Somerſet,

who had issue *Margaret*, Countesse of Richmond, mother to the noble Prince, *Henrie* the seuenth.

Henrie Plantagenet Earle of Derby, was likewise by his mother *Blanch*, extracted from the bloud of Kings, being discended from *Edmund*, the second sonne of King *Henrie* the third: by which line the Duchie of Lancaster did accreue vnto his house. He was a man of meane stature, well proportioned and formally compact: of good strength and agilitie of body, skilfull in armes, and of a ready dispatch: ioyntly shewing himselfe both earnest & aduised in all his actions. He was quicke and present in conceite, forward in attempt, courageous in execution, and most times fortunate in euent. There was no great place of imployment and charge, which hee would not rather affect for glorie, then refuse either for peril, or for paines; and in seruice hee often prooued himselfe not onely a skilfull commaunder by giuing directions: but also a good Souldier in vsing his weapon, aduenturing further in person sometimes, then policie would permit; his expences were liberall and honourable, yet not exceeding the measure of his receipts, he was very courteous and familiar respectiuely towards all men, whereby hee procured great reputation and regarde, especially with those of the meaner sort: for high humilities take such deepe roote in the mindes of the multitude, that they are more strongly drawne by vnprofitable curtesies then by churlish benefits. In all the changes of his estate, he was almost one and the same man: in aduersitie neuer daunted, in prosperitie neuer secure: reteining still his maiestie in the one, and his mildnes in the other: neither did the continuance of his raigne bring him to a proude port and stately esteeming of himselfe, but in his latter years he remained so gentle & taire in carriage, that therby chiefely he did weare out the hatred that was borne him, for the death of King *Richard*. He could not lightly be drawne into any cause, & was stiffe & constant in a good: Yet more easie

to

to be either corrupted or abused by flattering speeches, then to be terrified by threats. To some men he seemed too greedie of glorie, making small difference of the meanes whereby he attained it: and indeed this honour in noble minds is most hardly ouer-ruled, and oftentimes it draweth euen the wisest awrie But before I proceed any further in describing either the qualities, or acts of this Earle, I must write something of the Raigne of King *Richard* the second his cosin germaine: so far forth as the tollies of the one, were either causes or furtherances of the fortunes of the other.

Richard sonne to *Edward* Prince of Wales, a little before deceased, was after the death of King *Edward* the thirde, Crowned King ouer this Realme of England, in the eleuenth yeare of his age: at which yeeres the minde of man is like to the potters earth, apt to be wrought into any fashion, and which way soeuer it hardneth by custome, it will sooner breake then bend from the same. Now the gouernance of the King at the first was cómitted to certain Bishops, Earles, Barons, and Iustices. But either vpon nicenes to discontent the King, or negligence to discharge their duetie, euery one was more ready with pleasant conceites to delight him, then with profitable counsaile to doe him good: for smooth and pleasing speeches neede small endeauour, and alwayes findeth fauour: wheras to aduise that which is meete, is a point of some paines, and many times a thankelesse office. Herevpon two dangerous euils did ensue; flatterie brake in, and priuate respects did passe vnder publike pretences.

In the thirde yeare of his Raigne, it was thought meete that this charge should be committed to one man, to auoid thereby the vnnecessary wast of the treasure of the Realme, by allowing yearely stipend vnto many. So by the whole consent of the nobilitie and commons assembled together in Parliament, this office was deputed to Lord *Thomas Beauchampe* Earle of Warwicke, and a competent pension was assigned him, out of the Kings Eschequer for his paines.

But the King being now plunged in pleaſure, did immoderately bend himſelfe to the fauouring and aduancing of certaine perſons, which were both reprouеable in life, and generally abhorred in all the Realme, and this was the cauſe of two great inconueniences: for many yong noble-men and braue Courtiers, hauing a nimble eye to the ſecret fauours and diſlikes of the King, gaue ouer themſelues to a diſſolute and diſhoneſt life, which findeth ſome followers when it findeth no furtherancers, much more when it doth flouriſh and thriue: the King alſo by fauouring theſe, was himſelfe little fauoured and loued of many: for it is oftentimes as daungerous to a Prince, to haue euil and odious adherents, as to be euill and odious himſelfe. The names of theſe men were *Alexander Neuill*, Archbiſhop of Yorke, *Robert Veere*, Earle of Oxforde: *Michael Delapoole* afterwards Earle of Suffolke: *Robert Triſiliane*, Lord chiefe Iuſtice, *Nicholas Brambre*, Alderman of London; and certaine others of no eminencie either by birth or deſert, but obſequious and pliable to the Kings youthfull humour. Theſe were highly in credit with the King: theſe were alwayes next vnto him, both in companie and counſell: by theſe he ordered his priuate actions: by theſe he managed his affaires of ſtate: he ſpared neither the dignitie nor death of any man, whoſe authoritie and life withſtoode their preferment. In ſo much as in the fifth yeare of his raigne he remoued Sir *Richard Scroope*, from being Lord Chancellor of England (to which office he was by authoritie of Parliament appointed) becauſe hee refuſed to ſet the great Seale, to the graunt of certaine lands, which had wantonly paſſed from the King: alleaging for his denial, the great debts of the King, and ſmall demerites of the Parties, vpon whome the King might caſt away and conſume, but ſpend in good order he could not; aduertiſing him alſo to haue reſpect, that ryote did not deceiue him vnder the terme and ſhewe of liberalitie: and that gifts well ordered procure not ſo much loue, as placed without diſcretion, they

ſtirre

ſtirre enuy. This Chancelor was a man of notable integrity and diligence in his office, not ſcornefully turning away from the ragged coate of a poore ſuppliant, or pale face of a ſickely & feeble limmed ſuter, holding vp their ſimple ſoiled billes of complaint, nor yet ſmothering his conſcience with partiall maintaining of ſuch as were mighty: but being alike to all, he was ſoone diſliked of thoſe that were bad.

In the eight yeere of this Kings raigne, the deſtruction of the duke of Lancaſter was entended likewiſe vpon the like diſlike: the plot was layed by Iuſtice *Treſilian*, offences were deuiſed, appellors appointed, and peeres named; he ſhould haue bene put vnder arreſt ſuddenly, and foorthwith arreigned, condemned, and executed. But the duke vpon priuy intelligences of theſe contriuances, fled to his caſtle at Pomfret, and there made preparation for his defence againſt the king. So this matter began to grow to a head of diuiſion, which the common people at that time very buſily, deſired and ſought: but the kings mother trauelling inceſſantly betweene the king and the duke (notwithſtanding ſhee was both corpulent & in yeeres) laboured them both to a reconcilement: the king, with regard of the dangerous and diſcontented times: the duke with reſpect of his dutie and faith: and ſo partly by her entreaty and aduiſe, partly by their inclination bending to the ſafeſt courſe, all apparencie of diſpleaſure on the one part, and diſtruſt on the other, was for that time layed aſide.

The ſame yere *Michael Dolapoole* was made Chancellour of England, and created earle of Suffolke: and *Robert Veere* earle of Oxford was created Marqueſſe of Dubline, being the firſt man within the realme that was enobled with that title. But as they grew in honour, ſo did they in hate: for many noble men did infinitely ſtomacke their vndeſerued aduancements, and with theſe the fauour of the people generally went: but the kings intemperate affection was per-

emptory and violent, not regarding enuy vntill he could not reſiſt it.

The yeere next following, *Robert Veere* the new Marqnes was created Duke of Ireland. This yere the knights and burgeſſes of Parliament put vp many complaints againſt the Earle of Suffolke, vpon which they deſired his anſweres and triall: namely, how he had abuſed the king in taking of him to farme all the profits & reuenues of the crowne: how wantonly he waſted the treaſure of the land in riotous liberality, and vnneceſſary charges: how deepe he had diued into the kings debt: how careleſſe and corrupt hee was in his office: how greatly he had both deceiued and diſcredited the king in certaine dealings and accounts particularly expreſſed: with diuers other imputations touching diſhonor and diſhonesty, both in priuate actions and in office. This Earle was a merchants ſonne in London, and growing mighty on the ſudden, he could not governe himſelfe in the change: but proſperity layed open the ſecret faults of his minde, which were ſuppreſſed and cloaked before: and ſeruing a weake ruler in great place, with an ill minde, he made open ſale of his princes honour. Yet the King was willing, either ſecretly to diſſemble, or openly to remit theſe offences: and ſo paſſed them ouer with a ſhort audience (as his manner was in matters of greateſt weight) and without examination, ſhewing himſelfe neither grieued at the faults, nor well pleaſed with the complaint. Afterwardes a Subſidie was required: but anſwere was made that this needed not, ſince the kings wants might be furniſhed with the debts which were owing him from his Chancellour: neither was it to any purpoſe, ſo long as the mony ſhould be ordered by ſuch perſons as before it had beene, and that that time was like. Then were the matters againſt the L. Chancellour againe ſet on foote, and the king perſwaded that it was neither honourable nor ſafe to beare him out; that to priuat men it was ſufficient if themſelues

ſelues abſtaine from wrong, but a Prince muſt prouide that none do wrong vnder him: for by maintaining, or wincking at the vices of his officers, he maketh them his own, and ſhal ſurely be charged therewith when firſt occaſion doth ſerue againſt him. At the laſt, vpon inſtant importunity of both houſes, the king did conſent, that a commiſſion ſhould goe forth to certaine noble men, giuing them authority to heare and determine all matters which were obiected againſt the L. Chancellour: and then was a Subſidie granted, with exception, that the money ſhould be expended by the Lords, to the benefit and behalfe of the realme. The king did further demaund, that the heires of *Charles Blois*, who made claim to the duchy of Britane, ſhould be ſold to the French men for thirty thouſand markes, & the money granted to the duke of Ireland, for recouery of thoſe poſſeſſions which the king had giuen him in Ireland: this was likewiſe aſſented vnto, vpon condition, that before Eaſter then next enſuing, the duke ſhould depart into Ireland, and there remaine: at ſo high a price did they value the riddance of him out of the realme.

The charge of the Subſidie money was committed to *Richard* earle of Arundell, Commiſſioners for the Earle of Suffolke, were appointed, *Thomas* duke of Gloceſter the kings vncle, and the ſaid earle of Arundell: but during the time of their proceeding, the king kept all off, in places farre diſtant: either to manifeſt thereby the diſſent of his minde, or to auoid the griefe which his neereneſſe would encreaſe: And now was the Chancellour left vnto himſelfe, to anſwere to thoſe demeanures, wherein he made the kings blind fauour his priuiledge and protection, ſuppoſing neuer to ſee the ſame either altered or ouer-ruled. In the end, being conuict of many crimes and abuſes, he was depoſed from his office, his goods were confiſcated to the kings Exchequer, & himſelfe was adiudged woorthy of death: Yet was execution ſubmitted to the Kings pleaſure, and vnder ſureties he was

permitted to goe at large. At the ſame time *Iohn Foorde* Biſhop of Dureſme, another of the Kings dainties, was remoued alſo from being Lord Treaſorer of England, he was a man of little depth, either in learning or wiſedome, but one that had the Arte of ſeeming, in making the beſt ſhewe of whatſoeuer he ſpake or did: and riſing from meane eſtate to ſo high a pitch of honour, hee exerciſed the more exceſſiuely his ryote auarice and ambition, not able to moderate the luſtes and deſires which former want had kindled.

When this buſineſſe was blowne ouer, the King returned againe to London, and did preſently receiue the Earle of Suffolke, with the Duke of Ireland, and the Archbiſhop of Yorke, to greater grace and familiaritie then at any time before. Theſe *Triumuirs* did not ceaſe to ſtirre vp the Kings ſtomacke againſt thoſe Noble men, whoſe ſpeciall excellencie had made matter of fame and regard: partly for the diſgraces which they had receiued, partly vpon malicious emulation, to ſee the other ſo fauoured, and themſelues ſo odious, and that their priuate choller and ambition might beare ſome ſhew of publike reſpect, they ſuggeſted vnto the King, that he was but halfe, yea not halfe a King in his owne Realme, but rather the ſhadow and picture of a King: for if we reſpect (ſaid they) matters of ſtate, you beare the ſword, but they ſway it, you haue the ſhewe, but they the authoritie of a Prince, vſing your name as a colour and countenance to their proceeding, and your perſon as a cypher, to make them great, and be your ſelfe nothing. Looke to the dutie of your ſubiects, and it is at their deuotion: ſo that you can neither commaunde nor demaunde any thing, but with ſuch exceptions and limitations as they pleaſe to impoſe, come now to your priuate actions: your liberalitie (the greateſt vertue in a Prince) is reſtrained, your expences meaſured, and your affections confined, to frowne and fauour as they doe preſcribe. What Ward is ſo much vnder gouernment of his Gardian? Wherein will they next, or can they

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more abridge you? Except they ſhould take from you the place, as they haue done the power of a Prince: and in this we thinke, they may iuſtly be feared, hauing ſo great might ioyned with ſo great aſpiring mindes. For power is neuer ſafe when it doth exceede: & ambition is like the Crocodile, which groweth ſo long as he liueth; or like the Iuie, which faſtning on the foote of the talleſt Tower, by ſmall, yet continuall riſing, at length will climbe aboue the toppe, it is already growne from a ſparke to a flame, from a twigge to a tree, and high time it is that the encreaſe were ſtayed: oftentimes ſuch ouer-ruling of Princes haue proceeded to their ouerthrowing, and ſuch cutting them ſhort hath turned to cutting them off, their mindes are ſuſpicious, their power daungerous, and therefore the opperturitie muſt bee preuented.

The Kings owne weakneſſe made him apprehenſiue, and framed his mind to a vaine, and needleſſe feare: but chiefly he was moued at the remouing of his Chauncellour and Treaſorer out of their offices, and of the Duke of Ireland out of the Realme, ſuppoſing it a reſtraint to his princely power, that he might not abſolutly and in things giue or forgiue as his pleaſure ſerued. When theſe priuie incenſers perceiued the Kings humour once ſharpned, they ſo plyed him with plauſible perſwaſions, that (although he was naturally of no cruell diſpoſition, as wanting courage) yet they drew him to many violent and indirect courſes, partly vpon negligence to ſearch out the truth, partly vpon delight to bee flattered and ſmothly vſed, neither did they long deferre their deuiſes: and firſt it was appointed, that the Duke of Glouceſter and certaine others of that part, ſhould be inuited to a ſupper within London, & there ſuddainely ſurpriſed and made away. Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, who the yere before had beene Mayor of London, and in whom abundance of wealth ſupplyed the want of honeſt qualities, was a buſie agent in this butcherly buſineſſe: but *Richard Extone* the Mayor of the

Citie, that yeare, diſcouered the practiſe by whome the Duke was warned both to auoide the preſent perill, and afterwards to be warie of the like,

The yeare next following *Richard* Earle of Arundel, and *Thomas Mowbraye* Earle of Notingham, had the conduct of a Nauie committed to their charge: in this viage they tooke aboue a hundred ſale of the enemies ſhips, fraughted with Wines, and wel appointed for fight: they alſo relieued and fortified Breſt, and tooke two fortes which the Frenchmen had raiſed againſt it. The Earles ſo behaued themſelues in this ſeruice, that they grew to a very great eſtimation, both for courteſie among their Souldiers, and for courage againſt their enemies; & their actions were the more famous, by reaſon of the infortunate ſufficiencie of other Cõmanders, by whoſe either raſhnes or cowardiſe many good Souldiers were dayly defeated, and euery yeare made notorious by one loſſe or other. Yet notwithſtanding all their good labour and lucke, they were at their returne, entertained by the King, with great ſtrangenes, both of countenance and ſpeech. Who was ſo vnable to diſſemble his diſpight, that he could hardly deferre it, vntill the heate of the honour and loue which they had wonne, were ſomewhat abated. So much are men more inclinable to reuenge diſpleaſure, then reward deſert: for it is troubleſome to bee gratefull, and many times chargeable: but reuenge is pleaſant, and preferred before gaine.

About the ſame time, *Robert* Duke of Ireland forſooke the company of his lawfull wife, whoſe mother Lady *Iſabel*, was daughter to King *Edward* the third, and inſteede of her he tooke vnto him a baſe Bohemian, a Tauerners daughter. The King little regarded this indignitie done vnto his coſin, and in ſo great confuſion of the ſtate, let it paſſe vnreproued, as ouerſhadowed with greater vices: but the Duke of Glouceſter her vncle, tooke it in high diſdaine, as iniurious to the royall bloud, and did attend vpon occaſion to worke

reuenge

reuenge, this was not ſecret from the Duke of Irelande, who likewiſe bent al his deuiſes to bring the Duke of Glouceſter to his ouerthrow. The Duke of Glouceſter did proſecute his enmitie openly and manlike: the Duke of Ireland cloſely, and therefore the more dangerouſly. The Duke of Glouceſter was greater in bloud, the Duke of Ireland in fauour; he being vncle to the King, this bearing himſelfe as the Kings fellow. The Duke of Glouceſter pretended for the ſtate, the Duke of Ireland for the King: and much priuate malice did paſſe vnder theſe publike ſhewes: but in oppoſition of ſuch equall powers, there is many times ſmall difference in harme.

And now was Eaſter paſt, the tearme aſſigned to Duke *Robert Veere* for his departure into Ireland: and leaſt his ſtay might breede ſome ſtirre within the Realme, hee ſtill buſied himſelfe in preparation for his iournie, and at laſt (although it were long) made a ſolemne ſhew of ſetting forth. The King went in great ſtate to accompany him to his ſhipping; and the Earle of Suffolke, with Iuſtice *Triſiliane*, and the reſidue of that faction, either for fauour followed, or for feare durſt not ſtay behinde. So they paſſed together into Wales, and (whether vpon leuitie the Kings mind changed; or whether it was ſo contriued at the firſt to drawe themſelues more ſeperate from the Lords) there the Dukes iornie was at an ende. Then they entred into counſell which way the Lords might beſt be ſuppreſſed: many deuiſes were deepely debated, all pleaſed without reſpect either of danger or diſgrace: but fewe ſtood with likelyhoode of euente to their deſires, and therefore none was finally concluded. After long time thus friuolouſly ſpent, they left Wales, and came to the Caſtle of Notingham, where the King cauſed the high Shirifes of all the Shires in the Realme to be called before him, and demaunded of them, what ſtrength they could make on his part againſt the Lordes, if neede ſhoulde require: their anſwere was, that the common people did ſo

fauour the Lords, and were ſo well reſolued of their loue & loyaltie towards the King, that it was not in their power to rayſe any great power againſt them. Then they were commaunded, that no Knights nor burgeſſes ſhould afterwards bee choſen to any Parliament, but thoſe whom it pleaſed the King to appoint: whereto they ſaid, that it was a harde matter in thoſe times of Iealouſie and ſuſpicion, to bereaue the people of their auncient libertie, in chooſing Knightes and Burgeſſes for the Parliament, ſome few other matters being either vnreaſonably required, or obtained to ſmall end, the Sheriffs were licenſed to depart. Then were aſſembled *Robert Triſilian*, chiefe Iuſtice of the Kings Bench, *Robert Belknape*, chiefe Iuſtice of the Common Pleas, *Iohn Holte*, *Roger Stilthrope*, *William Burgh*, Knights and Iuſtices alſo of the Common Pleas, men learned in one rule chiefely, without difference of trueth or falſhoode, to pleaſe thoſe in higheſt places, intituling that wiſedome, which indeed was but baſeneſſe and feeblenes of minde: theſe were charged by the King vpon their faith and legeance, to make true and full anſweres to thoſe queſtions following.

1 *Firſt, whether the Statute ordinance and commiſſion, made and ſet forth the laſt Parliament (whereby was ment the commiſſion againſt* Michael Delapoole *Duke of Suffolke) did derogate from the royall prerogatiue of the King.*

2 *Item, they who procured the ſaid ſtatute &c. to be made and ſet forth, how are they to be puniſhed?*

3 *Item, how are they to be puniſhed, who prouoked the King to conſent to the premiſes?*

4 *Item, What puniſhment haue they deſerued who compelled the King to conſent to the ſaid ſtatute &c.*

5 *Item, how are they to be puniſhed, who reſiſted or letted the King in exerciſing his royall power, by remitting any penalties or debts whatſoeuer?*

6 *Item, when a Parliament is aſſembled, and the affaires of*

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the Realme, and the cause of assembling the Parliament, by the Kings commandement declared, and common Articles limited by the King, upon which, the Lords & commons in the said Parliament should proceed: if the Lords and commons will proceede vpon other Articles, and not vpon the Articles limitted by the King, vntill the King hath first giuen answere to the Articles propounded by them, notwithstanding that the contrary were enioyned by the King; whether in this case the King ought to haue the rule of the Parliament, & so to order the fact, that the lords and commons should first proceed vpon the Articles limitted by the King, or that the should first haue answere of the King, vpon the articles propounded by thē, before they proceed any further?

7 Item, whether may the King when he please dissolue the Parliament, and command the Lordes and commons to depart, or no?

1 Item, since the King may at his pleasure remone any of his Officers & Iustices, & punish them for their offences: whether may the Lords and commons without the Kings will, accuse his Officers & Iustices in Parliament for their offences, yea, or no?

9 Item what punishment haue they deserued, who moued in Parliament, that the Statute whereby King Edward Carnaruane *was deposed should be brought forth, by view whereof, the new Statute ordinance and commission aforesaid were framed?*

10 Item, whether the iudgement giuen in the last Parliament holden at Westminster, against Michael Delapoole *Duke of Suffolke, was erronious and reuocable, yea, or no?*

These questions or rather quarrells were drawne by *Iohn Blake*, a Counceller at the Law, by direction of Iustice *Trisilian*, whilest the King made his stay in Wales: to the which the Iustices afore-named, some in discharge of their owne malice, and some to satisfie the mindes of other, made answere as followeth.

To the first, that they did derogate from the prerogatiue of the King, because they were against his will,

To

To the ſecond and third: that they are to be puniſhed by death, except it pleaſeth the King to pardon them.

To the fourth and fifth: that they are worthy to be puniſhed as traitours.

To the ſixth: that whoſoeuer reſiſteth the kings rule in that point, deſerueth to be puniſhed as a traitour.

To the ſeuenth, that the King may at his pleaſure diſſolue the Parliament, and whoſoeuer ſhall afterwardes proceed againſt the kings mind, as in a Parliament, he is worthy to be puniſhed as a traitour.

To the eight, that they can not, and whoſoeuer doeth the contrary, he deſerueth to be puniſhed as a traitour.

To the ninth: that aſwell the motioner as alſo the bringer of the ſaid ſtatute to the Parliament, are worthy to be puniſhed as traitours.

To the tenth, they anſwered: that the ſaid iudgement ſeemed to them erronious and reuocable in euery part. *In witneſſe whereof, the iuſtices aforeſaid, with* Iohn Locktone, *the kings Sergeant at law, haue ſubſcribed and ſet their ſeales to theſe preſents, &c.*

When theſe bloody ſentences of death and treaſon, were vnder generall and large termes thus faſtened vpon the lords, the king ſuppoſed his attempts againſt them, whether by violence, or by couler of law ſufficiently warranted: but his power both wayes, as it was terrible againſt weake reſiſtance, ſo againſt ſuch mightie defendants it was of ſmall force to effect that which he ſo much affected. Yet he did not omit his firſt indeuour: and firſt, accounting the lordes as condemned perſons, he made diuiſion of their lands and goods among thoſe that hee fauoured. Then hee waged ſouldiers to be in a readineſſe for his aſſiſtance, and ſent the earle of Northumberland to arreſt the earle of Arundell, at his caſtle in Reygate, where he then lay. But the earle of Arundell, either vpon aduertiſement, or ſuſpition of the kings minde, banded himſelfe ſo ſtrong, that when the earle of Northum-

Northumberland came vnto him, he diſſembled his intent, and left his purpoſe vnperformed. Thus were theſe proceedings of the King, as now in counſell, ſo afterwards in euent, not much vnlike that which the Fable telleth of a certaine hunter, who firſt ſold the skinne of the beare, and then went about to take her: but when he came within the forreſt, either by vnskilfulneſſe or miſaduenture, he not onely miſſed his pray, but fell him ſelfe into danger of the beaſt.

The duke of Glouceſter hauing ſecret intelligence of the kings diſpleaſure and of his driſt, ſent the biſhop of London to perſwade the king to entertaine a more fauourable opinion of him: making faith to the biſhop with a ſolemne oath, that he neuer entended any thing to the preiudice of the king, either in perſon or ſtate. The Biſhop not vnskilfull to ioyne profitable perſwaſion with honeſt, declared to the king, that his diſpleaſure againſt the Lords was not grounded vpon iuſt deſert, but either vpon falſe ſuggeſtions of their enemies, or erronious miſtaking of ſome of their actions: how deſirous they were of his grace and fauour: how faithfull and forward they promiſed to perſiſt in all dutifull ſeruice: how honourable this agreement would be to the king: how profitable to the realme: and how daungerous to both, theſe troubles might encreaſe. The King ſeemed to giue good eare & credit to the Biſhops ſpeech: but *Michael Delapoole*, a turbulent man, and againſt quiet counſell obſtinately contentious, ſtanding then by the king, ſoone ſtiffened his mind againſt all impreſſion of friendſhip. Hereupon contention did ariſe betweene the Biſhop and the Earle, and brake forth violently into heat of words. The Earle applyed to the Lordes thoſe obiections wherewith great men are vſually charged: ſparing no ſpight of ſpeech, and vſing all arte to aggrauate matters againſt them. The biſhop replied that the Earle was thus fiercely bent, not vpon his owne neceſſity, nor loue to the king: but onely to ſatisfie his bloody and ambitious humour, wherein he was ſo immoderate that ra-

ther then the lords ſhould not be deſtroyed, he would ouerwhelme them with the ruines of the ſtate, for tumults might indeed be raiſed by men of little courage, but muſt be maintained with the hazzard, & ended with the loſſe of the moſt valiant: that neither his counſel in this matter was to be followed, being the principall fire-brand of the diſturbance, nor his complaints againſt any man to be any thing regarded, being himſelfe a condemned perſon, and one that held both his life and honour at the pleaſure of the king. At theſe words the king was exceedingly wroth, and charged the biſhop with menacing & threats to auoid his preſence. When the duke of Glouceſter had knowledge heereof, he ſignified the danger to the earles of Arundell, Warwicke, and Derbie, aduiſing them to take armes, and vnite themſelues for their common defence: for in ſo doubtfull and ſuſpected peace, open warre was the onely way of ſafety. Theſe three Earles were the chiefeſt ſtrength to the ſide, but the Duke bare the moſt ſtroke, becauſe he was moſt bolde, and his greatneſſe almoſt obſcured the names of the reſt. On the other ſide, the king thinking ſeparate dealing the onely way to weaken a confederacy, endeuoured to preuent the lordes in ioyning of their forces: and to that end he ſent a ſtrength of men with charge, either to ſet vpon the earle of Arundell where he did lie: or to intercept him in his paſſage towards the Duke. But the Earle had traueiled all the night before their comming, and ſo happily eſcaped to Haringey parke, where he found the Duke and the other Earles with a ſufficient company, as well to make attempt, as to ſtand vpon reſiſtance.

When the king heard hereof, he was diſturbed and diſtracted in minde, being now in choiſe either to relent or to reſiſt, whereof he much diſdained the one, and diſtruſted the other. His followers alſo was diuided in counſell: ſome fretting at the diſgrace, and ſome fainting at the daunger. The Archbiſhop of Yorke perſwaded the king, that occaſion

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was now offered to ſhew himſelf a King indeed, if he would muſter a royall armie, and by maine might beate downe the boldneſſe of this preſumption. NIHIL DICTV FACILIVS, ſaid another: *This is more readily deuiſed, thē done:* the army againſt vs is mighty, & the commanders are great men, both for courage and skill, and greatly fauoured of the common people: whereby that which is accompted ſo ready pay, may chance to prooue a deſperate debt. Therefore it were better with ſome yeelding to enter into conditions of quiet, then by ſtanding vpon high points of honour to hazard the iſſue of a battaile, wherein the King cannot winne without his weakning, nor looſe without daunger of his vndoing. There was then in preſence, a certaine olde Knight, called Sir *Hugh Linne*, a good ſouldier, but a very mad-cap, & one that liued chiefely vpon the liberalitie of noble men; by vaine ieſtes affecting the grace of a pleaſant conceite: of him the King demaunded in mirth, what he thought beſt to be done? Sir *Hugh* ſwore, ſwownes, and ſnayles, let vs ſet vpon them, and kill euery man and mothers childe; and ſo we ſhall make riddance of the beſt friendes you haue in the Realme, this giddie anſwere more weighed with the King, then if it had beene ſpoken in graue and ſober ſort: and thus it often happeneth, that wiſedome is the more ſweetly ſwallowed, when it is tempered with folly, and earneſt is the leſſe offenſiue, if it bee deliuered in ieſt. In the end, the deuiſe of rayſing armes was laide aſide, not as diſpleaſing (being ſo agreeable to former proceedings) but as deſpayring to preuaile thereby; and the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, with the Biſhop of Ely being Lord Chaunceller, were ſent vnto the Lordes, to vnderſtand the cauſe of their aſſemblie: anſwere was made, that it was for the ſafetie of themſelues; the honour of the King, and the ouerthrow of them which ſought the ouerthrow of both. At the laſt it was concluded by mediation of the Biſhops, that the Lordes ſhould come before the King at Weſtminſter, vpon promiſe of his protection, and

there haue audience concerning their griefes: the Bishop of Ely also making priuat faith, that he would discouer any danger that he could discrie, a little before the time they should come, the Bishoppe of Ely sent word, of an a waite that was purposed to be layde for them, at a place called the Mewes, neere London; aduising thē either to make stay, or to come prepared: but rather to make stay, least further prouocation might make reconcilement more hard, hereupon they came not at the time appointed, and the King marualing at their failance, enquired the cause of the Bishop of Ely: who answered, that the Lords found want of true meaning, & that they neither did, nor durst repose assurance to the Kings word, which they saw to bee vsed as a meanes to entrap them, the King made the matter very strange vnto him, affirming with an oath that he was free from deceite, both in consent and knowledge: and in a great rage, he commaunded the Sherifes of London to goe to the place, and slay all those whome they found there in waite. Whether this was but a countenance of his, or whether he was not priuie to the practise, it is not assuredly knowne, and indeed, the matter was not false, but the place mistaken: for Sir *Thomas Trivet*, and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* had assembled many armed men at Westminster, with direction to assault the Lords at their best aduantage: but perceiuing their deceite to be discouered, they dissolued the companie, and sent them secretly away to London.

Then the Lordes, vpon new faith for their security, came to the King at Westminster, and yet in faith they brought securitie with them, such tropes of men, as in a place where they were so intirely fauoured, was able to defend them, in any suddaine tumult or danger: the King vpon their comming entred into Westminster Hall, apparelled in his royall robes: and when he was placed in his seate, and had composed himselfe to maiestie and state, the Bishop of Ely Lord Chaunceller, made a long Oration to the Lordes in the

Kings

Kings name. Wherein he declared, the heinouſneſſe of their offence, the greatneſſe of their perill, how eaſie a matter it had beene for the King to haue leuied a power ſufficient to deſtroy them; and yet for the generall ſpare of his ſubiectes bloud, and in particular fauor to the Duke and other Lords, he made choyſe to encounter and ouercome them, rather by friendſhip then by force: and therefore was willing, not only to pardon their ryote, but alſo to heare their griefs, and in a peaceable and quiet manner to redreſſe them. The Lordes alleaged for cauſes of their taking armes, firſt the neceſſitie of their owne defence: ſecondly, the loue both of the King and of the Realme, whoſe fame and fortune did dayly decline, by meanes of certaine traytors, who liued onely by the diſhonors of the one, and decayes of the other, thoſe whom they challenged for traytors, were *Robert Veere* Duke of Ireland. *Alexander Neuill* Archbiſhop of Yorke, *Michaell Delapoole* Earle of Suffolk, *Robert Triſiliane* Lord chiefe Iuſtice, Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, and certaine others, ſomewhat ſecreter, but nothing better: and to iuſtifie this appeale, they threw downe their gloues, and offered themſelues to the triall by combat. The king replied, that oftentimes the cauſes of actions being good, yet, if the meanes want moderation and iudgement, the euents prooue pernicious: and therefore, though theſe complaints were true, yet were theſe courſes not tollerable, which did beare an open face of rebellion, and by licentiouſneſſe of the multitude, might ſoone haue ſorted to ſuch an end: for it is more eaſie to raiſe the people, then to rule them: whoſe furie once ſtirred, will commonly bee diſcharged ſome wayes. But (ſaid he) ſince we haue broken this broyle, we will not by combatting giue occaſion of a new: but as the next parlament (which he appointed ſhould begin the third day of Febrnary then next enſuing) as well you, as they, ſhall be preſent, and iuſtice indifferently done vnto all. In the meane time, he tooke all parties into his protection, that none ſhould endanger or endammage another: Craſtino purificationis.

deſiring the Lordes to beare in minde, that as princes muſt not rule without limitation, ſo ſubiects muſt vſe a meane in their libertie. Then he cauſed the duke & the Earles, which all this time kneeled before him, to ariſe,& went with them into his priuate Chamber, where they talked a while, and drunk familiarly together,& afterwards, with a moſt friendly farwell he licenced them to depart. They of the contrarie faction were not preſent at this meeting, and if they had, it was thought, that the preſence of the King ſhould little haue protected them.

This act of the King was diuers waies taken: ſome iudged him fearefull: others moderate, rather in ſparing the bloud of his ſubiectes. The Lordes were very ioyfull of his goodwill and fauor, which as by baſe or bad meanes they would not ſeeke, ſo being well gotten, they did highly eſteeme. Yet they thought it the ſafeſt courſe, not to ſeperate themſelues, ſuſpecting the mutabilitie of the King, and the malice of their enemies, of whome they knewe neither where they were, nor what they did intend: and being men of great wealth, and great power, and greatly bent to hurtful practices, they were feared not without a cauſe: for the Duke of Ireland, either by ſetting on, or ſufferance of the King, was all this time muſtering of Souldiers out of Cheſhire and Wales, where he gathered an armie both for number, and goodneſſe of men ſufficient, if another had beene generall, to haue maintained the ſide.

When the Lordes were aduertiſed hereof, they deuided themſelues,& beſet all the waies by which the Duke ſhould paſſe to London; determining to encounter him, before he did increaſe his power, and countenance his actions with the puiſſance or name of the King. At the laſt he was met by the Earle of Derby, at a place called Babbelake neere to Burford: and there the Earle put his men in array, reſoluing with great boldnes to hazard the battaile, his Souldiers alſo were full of courage and hart, diſliking nothing more then

delay,

delay as a loosing of time, and a hinderance to the victorie: but the Duke, being a man not fit for action, yet mutinous, and more apt to stirre strife, then able to stint it: vpon newes of an enemie would presently haue fled. There was then in the armie as a principall Commander, one Sir *Thomas Molineux*, Constable of Cheshire, a man of great wealth, and of good proofe in seruice, vpon whose leading all that countrie did depend: he perswaded the Duke, that this was but a part of the forces that were against them, and led onely by the Earle of Derby, a man of no speciall name (at that time) among the Lordes, and if they could not beare through that resistance, it was but in vaine to attempt any great atchiuement by armes. Hereupon the Duke stayed his steps, but his faint spirits were moued by this speech, rather to desire victory then to hope it: his souldiers also were dul, silent, & sad, and such as were readier to interpret, then execute the captaines commandement. So they ioyned battell, but scarce ten ounces of bloud was lost on both sides, before the duke of Ireland set spurres to his horse, and forsooke the field. His souldiers seeing this, threw away their vnfortunat weapons, more for indignation then for feare, ruffling their rancks, and yeelding to the Earle the honour of the field. Sir *Thomas Molineux* in flying away, was forced to take a Riuer which was neere, and as hee was comming foorth againe, a certaine Knight, whose name was Sir *Thomas Mortimer*, pulled off his helmet, and stabbed him into the brains with his dagger. The rest submitted themselues to the discretion of the victorers, making them lords ouer their life, and death: but their yeelding was no sooner offered, then it was accepted, the Earle presently commaunding that none should be harmed, but those that did make resistance, or beare armour: the Souldiers also being willing to shew fauour towardes their countreymen, as ledde into this action, partly vpon simplicitie, partly to accompany these which came vpon feare. Then the Gentlemen were

ſtill reteined in the Earles company, the common ſouldiours were diſpoiled of their armour onely, and ſo returned againe to their peaceable buſineſſe at home. And this was the firſt act whereby reputation did riſe to the ſide, and the greatnes began, whereunto the Earle afterwards attained.

The Duke of Ireland, at the beginning of his flight, was deſirous to haue paſſed the riuer which ranne by: and comming to a bridge, he found the ſame broken: from thence hepoſted to another bridge, which he found guarded with Archers. At the laſt, his fearefulneſſe being feared away (as nothing maketh men more deſperate vpon a doubtfull danger, then feare of that which is certaine) he aduentured to take the ſtreame; in the midſt whereof, he forſooke his horſe; and ſwam to the other ſide, and ſo by benefite of the night eſcaped, and fled into Scotland: and ſhortly after paſſed the ſeas into Flanders, and from thence trauailed into France: where the continual gall of his griefe ſoone brought his loathed life to an end. His horſe was taken with his breſt-plate, his helmet and his gauntlets, wherevpon it was generally ſuppoſed that he was drowned; and (as in great vncertainties it often happeneth) ſome affirmed that they ſawe his death, which men either glad to heare, or not curious to ſearch, did eaſily beleeue: whether this were thus contriued of purpoſe, or fell ſo out by chance, it was a great meanes of his eſcape, by ſtaying the purſute after him, which otherwiſe had beene made. His coach alſo was taken, and certaine of the Kings letters found, wherein he deſired the Duke to come to London with all the ſpeede and power hee could make, and he would be readie to die in his defence; ſo vnskilfull was he in matter, of gouernment, that to pleaſure a few, he regarded not the diſcontentment of all the reſt.

The Earle of Suffolke, vpon this accident, ſhaued his beard, and in baſe and diſguiſed attire fled to Calice, and either for feare, or for ſhame, neuer after returned into England: he was a cruell ſpoiler, and a careleſſe ſpender, in war

contemptible,

contemptible, in peace in-ſupportable, an enemie to all cõ-ſaile of others and in his owne conceite obſtinatly contentious; of a good wit, and ready ſpeach both which hee abuſed, to the cunning commending of himſelfe, and crafty depraying of others: he was leſſe loued but better heard of the King then the Duke of Ireland: the more hurtful man & the more hateful: the Duke being charged with no great fault: but onely the Kings exceſſiue fauour, in their courſe of good and bad fortune, both of them were famous alike. Alſo the Archbiſhop of Yorke, Iuſtice Triſiliane, and others of that faction, ran euerie man, like connies to their couerte; Yea the king betooke himſelfe to the Tower of London, and there made prouiſion for his winter aboade; hauing all his courſes now croſſed, firſt raſhnes in taking armes, and afterwards by cowardiſe in maintaining them.

The Earle of Darby ſignified this ſucceſſe to his aſſociates by letters, yet without any vaũting or enlarging terms: his ſpeeches alſo were moderate, rather extenuating his fact then extolling it, but by ſtopping his fame, it much encreaſed when men eſteemed his high thoughts by his lowely wordes, and his conceite in great exploites, by his contempt of this. Then the Lords met, and marched together towards London, whether they came vpon *S. Stephens* day, hauing almoſt fortie thouſand men in their armie, & firſt they ſhewed themſelues in battaile array, in the fieldes neare vnto the Tower, within the view of the King: afterwardes, they tooke vp their lodgings in the ſuburbes, the Maior and aldermen of the citty came forth, and gaue liberall allowance, of victuall to the ſouldiers, offering vnto the Lordes entertainment within the Citty, but they did not accept it.

Now this diſcord ſeemed to draw to a dangerous diſtraction of the common-wealth; the vanquiſhed parte being ful of malice, and the conquerors of preſumption: the one wanting power, the other right to command and rule. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and certaine others of the neutrality,

fearing the ſequele, perſwaded the king to come to a treaty with the lordes: but he made ſhewe of very light regard of all theſe dealings; let them ſtay (ſaide hee) vntill they haue wearied themſelues with maintaining this multitude, and then I will talke further with them. When the lords vnderſtood the drift of his deuiſe, they beſet the Thames, and all other paſſages, & proteſted, that they would not depart vntill they had talked with him to his face. The King hauing neyther ſtrength to reſiſt, nor ſcope to ſcape, conſented to a treaty, and to that end deſired the lords to come to him into the Tower: but they refuſed that place of meeting, vpon feare of falſe meaſure, vntill the King permitted thē to ſearch as diligently, and come as ſtrongly, as they thought it meete. So they came vnto the King well guarded, and after a fewe colde kindneſſes, and ſtrange ſalutations, they laide before him, his proceedings againſt them at Nottingham; his letters which he ſent to the Duke of Ireland contrary to his word, for the rayſing of armes againſt them: his agreement with the French King, for the yeelding vp of Calice and other ſtrong holdes which he poſſeſſed in thoſe parts: with diuers other pointes of diſhonourable dealing and negligent gouernment. What ſhould the King then haue ſaid or done? all theſe matters were ſo euident and ſo euill, that there was no place left eyther for denyall or defence. Therefore ingenuouſly, firſt with ſilence and pacience, afterwardes with teares he confeſſed his errors. And certainely, the ſtiffe ſtomack of the lords relented more to theſe luke warme drops then they would haue done to his cannon ſhot.

Then it was agreed, that the next day the King ſhould meet with them at Weſtminſter, & there treat further, both of theſe, and other neceſſarie affaires of the realme. So the Duke, and the reſt of the lords departed, except the Earle of Darby, who ſtayed ſupper with the King, and all that time ſtayed him in his promiſed purpoſe: but when hee was alſo gone, ſome of the ſecrete counſailers, or corrupters rather,

and

and abusers of the King, whistled him in the eare, that his going to Westminster was neither seemly nor safe, and would cause not onely to his person present danger and contempt, but also both abasement and abridgement to his authority afterwards. The Kings minde was soone changed; but the Lords being now stirred, and feeling the Kings hand weake to gouerne the bridle, became the more vehement, and sent him word, that if he did iccosaile with them, and not come according to appointment, they would chuse another King, who should haue his Nobility in better regard. This peremptorie message so terrified the King, that hee not onely went to Westminster, but suffered the Lords to doe there euen what they would. So they caused him much against his liking, to remoue out of the Court, *Alexander Neuill*, Archbishop of Yorke, *Iohn Foorde*, Bishop of Durisme, Frier *Thomas Rushoke*, Bishop of Chichester, the Kings Confessor: Likewise they remoued the Lord *Souch*, the Lord *Haringworth*, Lord *Burnell*, Lord *Beaumonte*, Sir *Albred Veere*, Sir *Baldwine Bereford*, Sir *Richard Alderburie*, Sir *Iohn Worth*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, and Sir *Iohn Louell*, taking sureties, for their appearance at the next Parliament. Also certain Ladies were expelled the Court, and put vnder sureties: to wit, the Lady *Mowen*, the Lady *Moling*, & the Lady *Ponings*, which was the wife of Sir *Iohn Woorth*. Furthermore, they arrested *Simon Burlye*, *William Elinghame*, *Iohn Salisburie*, *Thomas Trinet*, *Iames Berneis*, *Nicholas Dagworth*, and *Nicholas Brambre* Knights, *Richard Clifforde*, *Iohn Lincolne*, and *Richard Morford*, Clearkes, *Iohn Beauchampe* the Kings Steward *Nicholas Lake*, Deane of the Kings Chappell, and *Iohn Blake* Counceller at the Law: all these were committed to diuers Prisons, where they were forth-comming, but not comming foorth, vntill the Parliament next following.

After the feast of the Purification, the Parliament began at London, (and yet the King vsed many meanes, eyther to dash or deferre the same) to which the Lordes came, atten- 1388

ded with the number and ſtrength of a full armie: vpon colour to repreſſe any ryote that might happen to ariſe: but in truth, that by this terrour, they might draw the whole manage of affaires vnto themſelues. This aſſembly continued vntill Whitſontide next following, with very great feare of ſome men, and hope of others, and expectation of all. Herein was Iuſtice *Triſiliane*, by counſell of the Lords, againſt the Kings minde, condemned to bee drawne and hanged: which iudgement was preſently executed vpon him: the like ſentence and execution paſſed vpon Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, Sir *Iohn Salisburie*, Sir *Iames Barnes*, *Iohn Beauchampe*, the Kings ſteward, and *Iohn Blake* Eſquire, who had framed the Articles which were exhibited againſt the Lordes at Nottingham. Alſo the Iuſtices who gaue their iudgement concerning thoſe Articles, *Robert Belknape*, *Iohn Holte*, *Roger Fulthrope*, and *William Burghe*, were condemned to perpetuall exile: and yet they did not interpoſe themſelues, but intermeddle by conſtraint. Sir *Simon Burlye* was alſo beheaded, who was keeper of Douer Caſtle; and had conſpired to deliuer the ſame vnto the Frenchmen: hee was infinitely haughtie and proude, equall to the meaneſt in virtue and wiſedome, but in brauerie and traine inferiour to no Duke. Diuers other were either put to death, or baniſhed, and ſome (as it happened when the reyne of furie is at large) without any great cauſe. The Earle of Derby furthered no mans death, but laboured verie inſtantly for the life and libertie of many, in ſo much as hoat ſpeeches did ariſe betweene the Duke of Glouceſter and him: whereby he purchaſed a fauourable opinion among thoſe of the contrarie part, hauing cauſed the death of no man, but onely in the fielde. Then was an oath exacted of the King, to ſtand to the gouernment of the Lordes: and alſo an oath was taken of all the Subiects within the Realme, to be true and faithfull vnto the King. The king in taking this oath of the Lords, bewrayed his inward conceike by his open countenance, looking

king pleasantly on those he fauoured, and angerly on those whome hee hated; by which vnaimely discouery, he made them more heedefull, and himselfe more hatefull: which were occasions afterwarde, both to preuente the reuenge, which he much desired, and to procure the mischiefs which hee little feared. Lastly, a subsidie was graunted: and so the King comming as it were to a capitulation with the lordes, hee to haue the name of a King, and they the authority and maiesty, the contention for that time ceased.

All this was done in the xj. yeere of the Kings reigne, he 1389.
being yet vnder age, and in gouernment of others. But the yeere following, he beganne to take vpon him more liberty and rule: and vpon extreame disdaine, that both his pleasure and his power were by the Lords thus restrained, he did euer after beare a hard minde against them. And first he assembled them in the Councell chamber, and there demanded, of what yeeres they tooke him to be: they answered, that he was somewhat aboue one and twenty; then (sayd he) I am of lawfull age to haue the regiment in mine owne hand, and therefore you doe me wrong to holde me still vnder gouernment, as though the condition of a king were harder then of a subiect. This the Lords were neither willing to grant, nor able to denie, and therefore they either kept silence, or spake little to the purpose. Well (sayd the king) since I am no longer an Infant, I heere renounce your rule, and take vpon me such free administration of the Realme, as the Kings thereof, my predecessours heeretofore haue lawfully vsed. Then presently he began his Phaetons flourish, and commaunded the Bishop of Elie being L. Chancellour to resigne his seale; which the king receiued, and put vp, and therewith departed out of the chamber: but soone after he returned againe, and deliuered the same to *William Wickam* bishop of Winchester, constituting him L. Chancellour thereby. Many other officers he likewise deposed; and placed new in their roome; partly to manifest his author-

rity, and partly to ſatisfie his diſpleaſure. Alſo he remoued the Duke of Glouceſter the Earle of Warwicke, and many others from his Priuy Councell, and tooke thoſe in their places, which more regarded the humour of the King, but leſſe his honour.

Soone after, it was ſuggeſted to the King, that the Duke of Glouceſter was gathering forces of againſt him; but vpon examination there was found not onely no truth, but no ſhew or colour of any ſuch matter. The Duke would not quietly haue diſgeſted the rayſing of theſe reports: but the King, whether vpon a generall delight, to be tickled in the eares with ſuch tales, or vpon particular deſire to haue ſome quarrell againſt the Duke, charged him to ſilence.

1390 In the 13. yeare of the Raigne of King *Richard*, the Citizens of Genua deſired his aide, againſt the Barbarians of Afrike, who with dayly incurſions, infeſted and ſpoyled all the Sea coaſts & Ilands of Italy, & Fraunce, which fronted vpon them. The King ſent a choyce company of Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Henry* Earle of Derby; who behaued himſelfe in this charge with great integritie & courage, inciting his men, the good by praiſe, the bad by example rather then reproofe, as more readie to commend the vertues of the one, then to vpbraide the vices of the other. And firſt hee paſſed into Fraunce, and there ioyned himſelfe to certaine French forces, appointed likewiſe for this ſeruice: then with might and mindsvnited, they ſayled together into Africke. At their arriuall, the Barbarians were ready in armes to keepe them from landing: but the Earle commaunded his Archers to breake through and make paſſage, diſpiſing the enemie, whom he knew to be weake, and vnskilfull in ſeruice, and not to haue that aduantage in place, which hee had in men: the Frenchmen alſo ſharply ſet in, & ſeconded the Engliſh: and ſo whileſt both companies contended, the one to be accompted a helpe, & the other to ſeeme to need no helpe, the enemies were forced to flie, and leaue the ſhoare vnto the Chriſtians.

Christians. In this conflict, three Dukes of the Barbarians and aboue three hundred Souldiers were slaine, and in the flight, fower Dukes were taken, and a great, yet vncertaine number of common people. Then the Christians marched directly towards Tunis, the head citie of that Country: this they besieged, & in short time tooke, chiefely by the prowes of the English souldiers, who first scaled the Walls, and reared thereon the Earles banner. When they were entred the Towne, the Englishmen bent their endeauour, to the housing of their enemies, and beating downe of such as made resistance, but the Frenchmen straight waies turned to their lasciuious pleasures: so that there was presented a spectacle, both pitifull & shamelesse: in one place butchering of men, in another ryoting with women: here streames of bloud, and heapes of slaughtered bodies, hard by dissolute and licentious wantonnesses in some, all the miseries of a cruell warre, and the loosenesse of a secure peace. Here were slaine and taken aboue fower thousand Barbarians: the Kings brother also was slaine: but the King himselfe fled into the Castle, which was strongly scited, and well fortified and furnished with men. The Christians laid siege to this Castle the space of fiue weekes, during which time, they lost many of their men, yet not by sword, but by sickenesse: the Barbarians also were distressed with want of victuall, hauing but little proniſion, and many vnprofitable mouthes to consume it: hereupon they sent vnto the Christians, to desire peace, offering them a great summe of money, to depart out of their countrey: this the Christians accepted, vpon condition, that they might also freely carry with them, all their pray and prisoners; and that the Barbarians should from thenceforth surcease from making spoyle, vpon any of the coastes of Italy, or Fraunce. Thus had this voyage a prosperous and speedie end: the onely seruice (as I suppose) which the English and Frenchmen performed together, without iotte of iarre. And yet the Earle abused not the fortune of this successe, to vain

vaunting, or brauing in words, but moderately imparted to the reſt, the honour of the exployt: ſo by valyantly performing his charge, and ſparingly ſpeaking thereof, his glorie encreaſed, without bit of enuie.

1392 In the fifteenth and ſixteenth yeres of the reigne of King
1393 *Richard*, certaine cauſes of diſcontentment did grow, betweene the King and the Londoners, which ſet the fauour of the one, and the faith of the other, at great ſeparation and diſtance: One was, for that the King would haue borrowed of them a thouſand poundes: which they feeling much, and fearing more the Kings dayly exactions, did not onely deny, but euill intreated a certaine Lumbard, who offered to lay out the money.

Another griefe was thus occaſioned: One of the Biſhop of Salisburies ſeruants, named *Romane*, meeting in Fleet-ſtreet with a Bakers man, bearing horſe-bread, tooke a loafe out of his basket: and by rude demaund of the one, and rough deniall of the other, chollar ſo kindled betwixt them, that *Romane* brake the bakers head. Hereupon the neighbors came forth, and would haue arreſted the Biſhops luſty yeoman: but he eſcaped, and fled to this Biſhops houſe. The Conſtable followed peaceably, and demaunded a quiet deliuery of the offendour: but the Biſhops men ſhut the gates againſt him, that no man could come neere. Then much people flocked together, threatning to breake open the gates, and fire the houſe, vnleſſe *Romane* were brought forth vnto them: What (ſaid they) are the Biſhops men priuiledged? or is his houſe a ſanctuary? or will he protect thoſe whom he ought to puniſh? if we may be ſhuffled off in this ſort, not onely our ſtreets, but our ſhoppes and our houſes ſhall neuer be free from violence and wrong. This we will not endure: we cannot: it ſtandeth not vs in hand. Heerewith they approched the gates, and began to vſe violence: but the Maior and Shiriffs of the City, vpon aduertiſement of this tumult, came amongſt them, crying out, that it was not

not courage, but out-rage which they ſhewed: whereby they would procure, both daunger to themſelues and diſpleaſure againſt the whole Citty; that although wrong had beene receiued, yet they were not in the men, nor this the meanes to redreſſe the ſame: So partly by their perſwaſions, partly by their preſence and authoritie, they repreſſed the riot, and ſent euery man away, with ſtreight charge to keep the peace. Here was yet no great harme done, and the quarrell might haue beene quieted without more adoe, had not the Biſhop ſtirred therein, and kindled the coales of vnkindneſſe a freſh. For the Londoners at that time, were not onely ſuſpected ſecretly, but openly noted to be fauourers and followers of wickliffes opinions: for which cauſe, they were much maliced of the Biſhops; and many of their actions interpreted, to proceede from another minde, and tend to a worſe ende, then was outwardly borne in countenance and ſhew: and ſome matters of chaunce, were taken as done of purpoſe. Therefore the Biſhop of Salisburie called *Iohn Waltham*, who was alſo treaſurour of England, made a grieuous complaint of this attempt, to *Thomas Arundle* Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Lord Chauncellour; affirming, that if vpon euery light pretence, the citezens might be ſuffered in this ſort to inſult vpon the biſhoppes, without puniſhment, without reproofe and blame, they would bring into a hazzard, not onely the dignity and ſtate: but the libertie alſo of the whole Church: did they not lately take vpon them the puniſhment of adulteries, and other crimes appertaining to eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction? maliciouſly alleaging, that the biſhops and their officers, either beeing infamous for thoſe vices themſelues, did wincke at the ſame in others: or elſe by couetous commutation, did rather ſet them to ſale, then carefully repreſſe them. Did they not rudely and vnreuerently breake open the doores vpon the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and interrupte his proceedings againſt *Iohn Aſtone*, an open follower of wickliffe? and doe we think that this is the

laſt indignity that they will offer? no ſurely, nor yet the leaſt: and if this boldnes be not beaten downe, our authority will fall into open contempt and ſcorne, and be made a common foote-ball, for euery baſe citizen to ſpurne at. Hereupon they went together to the King, and ſo incenſed his diſpleaſure againſt the Londoners, (being prepared therete by former prouocations) that hee was in the mind to make ſpoyle of the citty, and vtterly to deſtroy it. But being perſwaded to ſome more moderation in reuenge, firſt hee cauſed the Maior and Shiriffes, and many of the chiefe citizens to be apprehended, and committed to diuers ſeuerall priſons: then hee ceazed all the liberties of the citty into his hands, and ordained, that no Mayor ſhould any more bee elected, but that the King ſhoulde at his pleaſure appointe a Warden and gouernour ouer the citty. This office was firſt committed to Sir *Edward Darlington*: who for his gentleneſſe towardes the citizens, was ſhortly after remooued and Sir *Bawldwine Radington* placed in his roome. Alſo the King was induced, or rather ſeduced by the Archbiſhop of Yorke Lord Chauncellour, to remoue the Tearmes and Courtes: to write, the Chauncery, the Exchequer, the king-bench, the hamper, and the common pleas, from London to be kept at Yorke, where the ſame continued from midſommer in the yeere 1393. vntill Chriſtmaſſe next following, to the great hinderance and decay of the citty of London. At the leaſt, the King vpon earneſt intreaty of the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Duke of Glouceſter, called the Londoners before him at Windſore: where (hauing firſt terrified them with the preſence and ſhewe of a greate number of armed men) hee cauſed all the priuiledges of the citty, both old and new, to bee brought forth, whereof he reſtored ſome, and reſtrained the reſt: yet the Londoners were not fully reſtored to fauour; neither recouered they at that time, either the perſon or dignity of their Mayor. Shortly after, the King went to London: at whoſe comming the citizens

tizens changed all their griefe into gladneſſe (as the common ſort is without meaſure in both) entertayning him with ſuch ioyfull triumphes and rich preſentes, as if it had beene the day of his coronation. They ſuppoſed with theſe great curteſies and coſts to haue ſatisfied his diſpleaſure; but they found themſelues farre deceiued: for they were not fully reſtoared to their liberties againe, vntill they had made fine, to pay vnto the King ten thouſand pounds. Thus did the Londoners manifeſt in themſelues, a ſtrange diuerſity of diſpoſition, both licenciouſly to committe offence, and paciently to endure puniſhment; hauing raſhneſſe and rage ſo tempered with obedience, that they were eaſily puniſhed, who could not poſſibly bee ruled. Yet for this cauſe, ſo ſoone as firſt occaſion did ſerue againſt the King; they ſhewed themſelues, either his earneſt enemies, or faint friends.

King *Richard* in the nineteenth yeare of his reigne, paſſed the ſeas to Calice: the French King alſo came downe to Arde: betweene which two Townes, a place was appointed, and tentes erected for both the Kings to meete. After large expenſes on both ſides, and great honour done by the one King to the other: a ſurceaſe of armes was concluded betweene them for thirty yeeres: and King *Richard* tooke to wife Lady *Iſabell*, the French Kings daughter, being not aboue ſeuen or eight yeeres olde. The Duke of Glouceſter was ſo offended; both with this friendſhip, and affinitie, that he loſt all manner of patience: exclaiming, that it was more meete to be in armes, then in amitie with the French-men, who being inferiour to the Engliſh in courage, did alwayes ouer-reach them in craft, and being too weake for warre, did many times preuaile by peace: that now they had got into their hands, many Townes and Holdes, appertaining to the Crowne of England, they were willing to conclude a peace, to exclude the King thereby from his poſſeſſions: but whenſoeuer occaſion ſhoulde

change for their aduantage, they would be then as ready to ſtart from the friendſhippe, as at that preſent they were to ſtrike it: that the French Kings daughter, being but a child, was very vnmeet for the marriage of King *Richard*, as well for diſparitie of age, as for that the King had no iſſue by his firſt wife, and was not like to haue any by this, except (perhappes) in his old and withered yeeres. When the Duke ſaw, that with theſe motiues he did nothing preuaile, he ſuborned the Londoners, to make petition to the King, that ſeeing there was peace with Fraunce, he would releaſe them of the Subſidie which they had graunted to him in regard of thoſe warres. This ſuite was inſtantly followed, and much perplexed the King, vntill the Duke of Lancaſter declared to the people, that the King had beene at the charge and diſpence of three hundred thouſand poundes in his voyage into France, for the procuring of this peace: whereupon they were pacified, and deſiſted from their demaund.

1397. The yeere following, *Guido* Earle of *S. Pauls*, was ſent into England by *Charles* King of Fraunce, to viſit and ſalute in his name, King *Richard*, and Queene *Iſabell* his wife, the French Kings daughter. To this Earle, the King did relate, with what feruencie the Duke of Glouceſter contended to make diſturbance of the peace betweene England and France, how, becauſe his mind was not therein followed, hee mooued the people to ſeditious attempts, bending himſelfe wholy to maintaine diſcord and diſquiet, rather in his owne countrey then not at all. He further reported, what ſtiffe ſtrifes, in former times, the Duke had ſtirred: which, howſoeuer they were done, yet as they were declared, they ſounded very odious and hard. When the Earle heard this, he preſently anſwered, that the Duke was too daungerous a ſubiect to be permitted to liue: that greatneſſe was neuer ſafe, if it grow exceſſiue and bolde: that the King muſt not affect the vaine commendation of clemency,

clemency, with his owne perill: and that it touched him, both in honour to reuenge the disgraces which he had receiued, and in policy to preuent the dangers which he had cause to feare. These words so sharpened the Kings displeasure, that from thenceforth he busied his braines in no one thing more, then how to bring the Duke to his end. Now he began to pry more narrowly into his demeanour: to watch his words: to obserue actions: and alwayes to interpret them to the woorst, framing himselfe to many vaine and needlesse feares. Often-times he would complaine of him to the Duke of Lancaster, and the Duke of Yorke, how fierce and violent he was in his speeches, and crosse to him in all matters. The Dukes would make answere that the Duke of Glouceſter their brother, was indeed more hoat and vehement then they did commend: yet his fiercenesse was ioyned with faithfulnesse, and his crosnesse proceeded from a care, least the Common-wealth should decrease either in honour or in possessions: and therefore the King had neither neede to feare, nor cause to dislike.

About that time, the Dukes of Lancaster and of Yorke withdrew themselues from the court, to their priuate houses the Duke of Glouceſter also went to lye at Plashey, neere Chelmesforde in Essex: vpon aduantage of which separation, the King stood distracted in minde, betweene feare to differ, and shame to auow the destruction of the Duke, least he might happily be disappointed by the one, or dishonoured by the other. Hereupon hee entred into counsaile with *Iohn Holland*, Earle of Huntington, his halfe brother: and *Thomas Mowbray*, Earle of Notingham, howe the Duke of Glouceſter might be suppressed or oppressed rather, the cruelty which was but wauering in the King, yea wanting by nature, was soone confirmed by euill aduise: and being once inclined to bloud, he did not faile, either of example of lewd action to follow: or direction of cruell counsaile what to doe: so the plotte was contriued, and according thereto, the

King and the Earle of Notingham rode together into Eſſex, as though it were to diſport themſelues in hunting: when they were in the middeſt of the Forreſt, the Earle made ſtay, and the King paſſed forth with a ſmall & vnſuſpitious company to the Duke, lying at Plaſhey: there he ſtayed dinner: and then pretending occaſion of preſent returne, he deſired the Duke to accompany him to London, the faire entreatie of a Prince, is a moſt forcible commaunde: therefore the Duke ſuppoſing that onely to bee intended indeede, which was pretended in ſhewe, went to horſe-backe with the King, taking ſuch ſmall attendance, as vpon the ſudden could be in a readineſſe, and appointing the reſt to come after him to London. So they rode together, vſing much familiar talke by the way, vntill they came neere the place of await: then the King put his horſe forwarde, and the Duke comming behinde, was ſuddenly intercepted and ſtayed, crying aloud, and calling to the King for his helpe: the King continued his iourney, as though he had not heard: and the Duke was violently carried to the Thames, and there ſhipped in a veſſell layed for the purpoſe, and from thence conueyed ouer to Calice.

When the King came to London, he cauſed the Earle of Warwicke alſo to be arreſted and ſent to priſon, the ſame day that hee had inuited him to dinner, and ſhewed good countenance, and promiſed to be a gracious Lord vnto him. Vpon the like diſſembled ſhewe, the Earle of Arundell, and his ſonne, and certaine others were arreſted alſo, and committed to priſon in the Ile of Wight.

The common people vpon the apprehending of theſe three noble men, whome they chiefely, aud almoſt onely fauoured, were in a great confuſion and tumult; and there wanted but a head to draw them to ſedition: euery man ſorrowed, murmured, and threatned, and daring no further, ſtood waiting for one to leade them the way: all being ready to followe that, which any one was loath to beginne.

The

The Duke of Lancaſter and of Yorke gathered a ſtrong armie, and came therewith to London, where they were readily receiued by the citizens, although the King had commaunded the contrarie: but this ſeemed to be done, rather for garde to themſelues, then regard to any others.

The king all this time, kept at a village called Helhame, within foure miles of London, hauing about him a great power of armed men, which he had gathered out of Cheſhire and Wales: and to pacifie the common people, hee cauſed to be proclaimed, that the Lordes were not apprehended vpon old diſpleaſures, but for offences lately committed, for which they ſhould be appealed by order of law, and receiue open triall, in the Parliament next following: the like meſſage was ſent to the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Duke of Yorke, lying at London: to whome the King made faith, for the ſafety of their perſons, and indemnitie of their goods, and that nothing ſhould be attempted without their priuitie and aduice: all this was as raſhly belieued, as it was craftely giuen out: whereupon the Dukes diſſembled their feares, and diſſolued their forces, and remained in expectancie what would enſue.

A little before the feaſt of Saint Michael, the Parliament began at London, wherein Sir *Iohn Buſhie*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henrie Greene*, were principall agents for the Kings purpoſe. Theſe were then in all the credites and authoritie with the King, & his chieſeſt Schoole-maſters both of crueltie and deceite: they were proud, arrogant, and ambitious, and vpon confidence of the Kings fauour, profeſſed enemies to men of ancient Nobilitie; to the ende, that being lately ſtart vp, they might become more famous by maintaining contention with great perſons. And firſt, by their importuned trauaile, all the Charters of pardon, graunted by the King, were in this Parliament annulled and reuoked. Then the Prelates did conſtitute Sir *Henrie Pearcie* their procurator, and departed the houſe, becauſe

they might not be present in iudgement of bloud. Lastly, the Earle of Arundell, and the Earle of Warwicke were arraigned; and for the same offences, for which they had bene pardoned (namely for encroaching to themselues royall power in iudging to death *Simon Burlye*, *Iohn Berneis*, and others, without the Kings consent) were condemned to be hanged, drawne, and quartered: but the King so moderated the seueritie of this sentence, that the Earle of Arundell was onely beheaded, and the Earle of Warwicke committed to perpetuall imprisonment in the Ile of *Man*.

The Duke of Glouceſter, was so greatly fauoured, that it was thought a point both of policie and peace, not to bring him to his open answere, but to put him to death secretely: so he was strangled vnder a feather bedde at Calice by the Earle of Notingham, being then Earle Marshall: which death, howsoeuer he deserued; yet dying as he did, not called, nor heard, he dyed as guiltlesse.

In this same Parliament, *Thomas Arundell* Archbishop of Canterburie was also accused, for executing the commission against *Michaell Delapoole*, Earle of Suffolke: for which cause, his temporalties were seazed; his lands and goods forfeited, as well in vse, as in possession: and he himselfe was adiudged to exile, & charged to depart the realme, within sixe weekes then next ensuing. So hee went into Fraunce, where afterwardes, he became a principall meane of the reuolt which followed. Also the Lord *Cobham* was exiled into the Ile of Gernsey: and Sir *Reinold Cobham* was condemned to death, not for entring into any attempt against the King, but because he was appointed by the Lords to be one of his gouernours, and of his counsaile, in the 11. yeare of his raigne.

Now the King falsely supposing, that hee was free from all daungers, and that the humour against him, was cleane purged and spent, conceiued more secreate contentment, then he would openly bewraye; as more able to dissemble his

his ioy, then conceale his feare: being so blinded and bewitched with continuall custome of flatteries, that hee perceiued not, that the state of a Prince is neuer stablished by crueltie and craft. On the other side, the common people were much dismayed, hauing nowe lost those whome they accompted their onely helpes, and their onely hopes, both for their priuate affaires, and for supporting the state: and because these mishapes hapened vnto them, for maintayning a cause of common dislike, the peoples stomacke was stirred thereby to much hate and heart-burning against the King. And to make their deathes the more odious, the Earle of Arundell was reputed a martyr, and pilgrimages were dayly made to the place of his buriall: the rumour also was current but without either author or ground, that his head was miraculously fastened againe to his body: this whilest all men affirmed, and no man knew, the King caused the corpes to bee taken vp, and viewed, ten dayes after it was deterred: and finding the same to bee fabulous, hee caused the ground to be paued where the Earle was layde, and all mention of his buriall to be taken away, forbidding publickly any such speaches of him afterwards to bee vsed. But this restraint rayled the more: and they, who if it had beene lawfull, would haue saide nothing, beeing once forbidden, could not forbeare to talke. It was also constantly reported, that the King was much disquieted in his dreames with the Earle, who did often seeme to appeare vnto him, in so terrible and truculent manner, that breaking his fearefull sleepe, hee would curse the time that euer he knew him.

In the one and twenty yeare of the raigne of K. *Richard*, 1398
Henry Earle of Darby, was created Duke of Hereford: at which time the King created foure other Dukes; to wit, Duke of Aumerle, who was before Earle of Rutland: Duke of Southrey, who was before Earle of Kent: Duke of Excester, who was before Earle of Huntington: and Duke of Norfolke, who was before Earle of Notingham. This

degree of honour long time after, the conqueſt of the Normans (whoſe chiefeſt Rulers had no higher title) was accompted too great for a ſubiect to beare: the fourme of the common-wealth, beeing framed by the victors, farre from equality of all, and yet the King excepted without eminencie of any. At the length King *Edward* the third created his eldeſt Sonne *Edward* Duke of Cornewale, and made this honour hereditarie, conferring it vnto many: ſince which time, diuers Princes of this Land haue beene eyther put, or kept, or hazarded from their eſtate, by men of that quallity and degree. The King likewiſe created the Counteſſe of Norfolke, Ducheſſe of Norfolke: the Earle of Sommerſet, Marqueſſe of Sommerſet: the Lorde Spencer, Earle of Glouceſter: the Lorde Neuill, Earle of Weſtmerland: the Lorde Scoupe, Earle of Wiltſhire: and the Lorde Thomas Darcy his ſteward, Earle of Worceſter. Among theſe; hee made diuiſion of a great part of the landes of the Duke of Glouceſter, and of the Earles of Arundell and Warwicke: ſuppoſing by this double liberality, of honour and poſſeſſions, to haue purchaſed to himſelfe moſt firme frienſhips: but bought friends, for the moſt parte, are ſeldome eyther ſatisfied or ſure: and like certaine Rauens in Arabia, ſo long as they are full, doe yeeld a pleaſant voyce: but being emptie, doe make a horrible cry.

Now the Duke of Hereforde rayſed his deſires, together with his dignities, and eyther vpon diſdaine, at the vndeſerued fauour and aduancement of ſome perſons about the King: or vpon diſlike, that the King was ſo diſhonourably both abuſed and abaſed by them: or elſe (perhaps) vppon deſire, to manifeſt his owne ſufficiencie in matters of controulement and direction: being in familiar diſcourſe with *Thomas Mowbraye* Duke of Norfolke, hee brake into complaint, how the King regarded not the noble Princes of his Bloud, and Peeres of the Realme, and by extremities vſed to ſome, diſcouraged the reſt from entermedling in any publique

publike affaires: how in ſtead of theſe, hee was wholy gouerned by certaine new-found and new-fangled fauorites, vulgar in birth, corrupt in qualities, hauing no ſufficiencie eyther of councell for peace, or of courage for warre; who being of all men the moſt vnhoneſt, and the moſt vnable, with hatefulneſſe of the one, and contempt of the other, were generally deſpiſed in all the Realme: that hereby, Firſt the honour of the Kings perſon was much blemiſhed; for vngrate and vngratious adherents are alway the way to hatred and contempt: Secondly, the ſafetie of his ſtate might bee endaungered; for extraordinarie fauour to men apparently of weake or bad deſert, doth breede inſolencie in them, and diſcontentment in others, two daungerous humours in a common-wealth: Thirdly, the dignity of the Realme was much empaired: whoſe fortune and valour being guided by the ill chaunce of ſuch vnluckie leaders, ſtood neuer in the like termes of doubt and diſtreſſe; ſo that matters of peace were tumultuous and vncertaine, and atchiuements of warre were neuer brought to honourable concluſion; that *Alexander Seuerus* would haue ſmoaked ſuch ſellers of ſmoake; that Xerxes would haue pulled their skin ouer their eares; and high time it was, that the King ſhould looke vnto them: for the Nobilitie grew out of heart, the Commons out of hope, and all the people fell to a diſcontented murmuring. And this he ſaid (as he ſaid) not for any grudge, but for griefe and good will: and therefore deſired the Duke, who was one of the priuy Councell, and well heard with the King, to diſcouer vnto him theſe deformities and daungers, that by repayring the one, hee might happily repell the other.

Theſe wordes procured to the Duke of Hereforde both great offence, and great glorye: at the deliuerie whereof, the Duke of Norfolke made ſhewe of good liking, and promiſe of ſincere dealing. And indeede, if they had bin as faithfully reported by him, and by the King as friendlie

taken, as they were faithfully and friendlie meant, many miſchiefes might haue beene auoyded: but both of theſe did fayle: for the Duke of Norfolke although in former times hee had taken part with the Lordes, yet afterwards, being deſirous to be accompted rather among the great men, then the good, he made ſale of his honour, to maintaine his pleaſure, and continue himſelfe in grace with the King; to which he was altogether enthralled; inſomuch, that the murthering of the Duke of Glouceſter, and the execution of the Earle of Arundell, was to his charge eſpecially committed: and ſuppoſing vpon this occaſion to make a free hold of his Princes fauour, hee grieuouſly aggrauated theſe ſpeeches in reporting them, and yet cunningly to: with many lyes intermixing ſome truthes, or making the truth much more then it was. Againe, the King not enduring the ſearch of his ſoares, did bend his minde rather to puniſh the boldneſſe, then examine the truth of theſe reproofes: his eares being ſo diſtempered with continuance of flatterie, that he accompted all ſharpe that was ſound, and liked onely that which was preſently pleaſant, and afterwards hurtful. Thus we may dayly obſerue, that no ſtrange accident doth at any time happen, but it is by ſome meanes fore-ſhewed, or foretould: but becauſe theſe warnings are often-times eyther not marked, or miſconſtrued, or elſe contemned, the euents are accompted ineuitable, and the admonitions vaine.

The King being in this ſort touched by the one Duke, and tickled by the other, was not reſolued vpon the ſuddaine, what to doe: therefore he aſſembled his Councell and called the two Dukes before him, and demaunded of the Duke of Norfolke, if hee would openly auouch that which hee had ſuggeſted in ſecret. The Duke ſeeing it was now no time for him, either to ſhrinke or ſhuffle in his tale, with a bolde and confident courage repeated all that before hee had reported. But the Duke of Hereforde could not bee borne downe by countenance, where his cauſe was good:

and

and therefore after a ſhort ſilence, whereby hee ſeemed rather amazed at the ſtrangeneſſe of this matter, then abaſhed at the guilt, he made lowe obeyſance to the King, and greatly both thanked and commended him, that hee had not giuen haſtie credite to matters of ſuch tender touch, as his griefe might haue borne out the blame of raſhneſſe in reuenge; deſiring him to continue yet a while, the reſpite of his diſpleaſure, and to reſerue his iudgement free for indifferent audience. Then he declared in order, what ſpeech had paſſed from him, vpon what occaſion, and to what end: all the reſt hee ſtoutly denied, affirming, that it was falſely ſurmiſed by his aduerſarie, eyther vpon malice to picke a quarrell, or vpon ſycophancie to picke a thanke, and that thereupon hee was vntrue, vniuſt, a forger of ſlaunderous and ſeditious lyes, whereby he treacherouſly indeuoured to ſeduce the King to deſtroy the Nobility, and to raiſe diſturbance within the realme: and this he offered to proue vpon him (if the King would permit) by the ſtroake of a ſpeare and by dint of ſword. The Duke of Norfolks ſtomack not vſed to beare ſcorne, could not diſgeſt theſe tearmes of diſgrace: whereupon hee ſtiffely ſtood to his firſt imputation: and for maintenance thereof, hee accepted, and alſo deſired the combat. The King would ſome other wayes haue quieted this contention, but the Dukes would agree to no other kinde of agreement: and thereupon threw downe their gloues one againſt the other for gages. The King ſeeing their obſtinacy, graunted them the battell, and aſſigned the place at the City of Couentry, in the moneth of Auguſt then next inſuing: where in the meane time hee cauſed a ſumptuous Theater, and Liſts royall to be prepared.

At the day of combat, the two Dukes came, well handed with Noblemen and Gentlemen of their linage. The Duke of Aumerle for that day high Conſtable, and the Duke of Surrey for the ſame time and action, high Marſhall of England, entred into the liſts, with a great troop of men apparelled in

ſilke ſendale, embroydered with ſiluer, euery man hauing a tipped ſtaffe to keepe the fielde in order. About the time of prime, the Duke of Hereford came to the barriers of the liſts mounted vpon a white courſer, barbed with blew & greene veluet, embroydered gorgiouſly with Swans and Antilops of Gold-ſmiths worke, armed at all points, & his ſword drawn in his hand. The Conſtable and Marſhiall came to the barriers, and demaunded of him, who he was? He anſwered: I am *Henry* Duke of Hereford, and am come to do my deuoire againſt *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Norfolke, as a traytour to God, the King, the Realme, and me. Then he ſware vpon the Euangeliſts, that his quarrell was right, & vpō that point deſired to enter the liſts, then he put vp his ſword, pulled downe his beauier, made a croſſe on his fore-head, and with ſpeare in hand, entred into the liſts, and there lighted from his horſe, and ſate downe in a chaire of greene veluet, which was ſet in a trauerſe of greene & blew veluet at the one end of the liſtes: and ſo expected the comming of his enemy, ſoone after King *Richard* entred the fielde with great pomp both in brauery and traine; he had in his company, the Earle of S. *Paule* who came purpoſely out of Fraunce to ſee this combat tryed; he was attended with all the noble Peeres of the Realme, and guarded with tenne thouſand men in armes, for feare of any ſuddaine or intended tumult.

When he was placed on his ſtage, which was very curiouſly and richly ſet forth, a King at armes made proclamation in the name of the King, and of the high Conſtable, and of the Marſhall, that no man, except ſuch as were appointed to order and Marſhall the fielde, ſhould touch any part of the liſtes, vpon paine of death. This proclamation beeing ended, another Herald cryed: Behold here, *Henry* of Lancaſter Duke of Hereford, appellant, who is entred into the liſtes royall, to doe his deuoire, againſt *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Norfolke defendant, vpon paine to bee accompted falſe and recreant. The Duke of Norfolke, was houering on horſebacke

horſebacke at the entry of the liſtes, his horſe being barbed with crimſon veluet, embroadered richly with lions of ſiluer; and mulberie trees: and when he had made his oath, before the Conſtable and Marſhall, that his quarrell was iuſt and true, he entred the fielde boldly, crying aloud God aide him, that hath the right: then he lighted from his horſe, and ſatte downe in a chaire of Crimſon veluet, curtained aboute with red and white damaske, and placed at the other ende of the liſtes. The Lord Marſhall viewed both their ſpeares, to ſee that they were of equall length: the one ſpeare he caried himſelfe to the Duke of Hereford, and ſent the other to the Duke of Norfolke by a Knight. This done, a Herrald proclaymed, that the trauerſes and chayres of the combattants ſhould be remoued, commaunding them in the Kings name, to mount on horſebacke, and addreſſe themſelues to the encounter, the Dukes were quickly horſed, and cloſed their beauiers, and caſt their ſpeares into the reſts. Then the trumpets ſounded, and the Duke of Hereforde ſet forth towards his enemy, about ſixe or ſeauen paces; but before the Duke of Norfolke began to put forwarde, the King caſt downe his warder, and the Herralds cried, ho: then the King cauſed the Dukes ſpeares to be taken from them, and commaunded them to forſake their horſes, and returne againe to their chaires: where they remained aboue two long houres, whilſt the King deliberated with his councell what was fitteſt to be done. At laſt, the Herralds cryed ſilence: and Sir *Iohn Borcy* a Secretary of ſtate, with a loude voice, read the ſentence and determination of the King and his Councell out of a long roule: wherein was contained, that *Henry* of Lancaſter Duke of Hereford, appellant, and *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Norfolke, defendant, had honourably appeared that day within the liſts royall, and declared themſelues valiant and hardy champions; being not onely ready, but forward and deſirous to darre in the battell: but becauſe this was a matter of great conſequence & import, the King with

the aduice of his Councell, thought it meet to take the ſame into his owne hands: and thereupon had decreed, that *Henry* Duke of Hereford, becauſe he had diſpleaſed the King, and for diuers other conſiderations, ſhould within 15. dayes next following, depart out of the Realme, and not to returne during the terme of ten yeeres, without the Kings eſpeciall licence, vpon paine of death.

When this iudgement was heard, a confuſed noyſe was rayſed among the people, ſome lamenting eyther the deſert, or the iniuries of the Duke of Hereforde, whom they exceedingly fauored: others laughing at the conceit of the King: firſt in cauſing, and afterwards in fruſtrating ſo great an expectation: wherein he ſeemed to doe not much vnlike *Caligula*; who lying in Fraunce with a great armie neere the ſea ſhoare, gaue the ſigne of battell, ſet his men in array, marched foorth as if it had beene to ſome great piece of ſeruice, and ſuddenly commanded them all to gather cockles.

Then the Herralds cryed againe, ô Yes: and the Secretarie did reade on, how the King had likewiſe ordayned, that *Thomas Moubraie* Duke of Norfolke, becauſe he had ſowen ſedition, by words whereof he could make no proofe ſhould auoide the Realme of England, and neuer returne againe, vpon paine of death: and that the King would take the profits and reuenues of his lands, vntill he had receiued ſuch ſummes of money as the Duke had taken vp, for wages of the garriſon of Calice, which was ſtill vnpaide: and that the King prohibited, vpon paine of his grieuous diſpleaſure, that any man ſhould make ſuite or intreatie to him, on the behalfe of eyther of theſe two Dukes.

Theſe ſentences being in this ſort pronounced, the King called the two exiles before him, and tooke of them an oth. That they ſhould not conuerſe together in foraine Regions, nor one willingly come in place where the other was: fearing (as it was like) leaſt their common diſcontentment ſhould draw them, firſt to reconcilement, and afterward to

reuenge.

reuenge. But this policie was ouer weake for this purpose: for oathes are commonly ſpurned aſide, when they lie in the way, either to honour or reuenge: and if their vnited forces was much to be regarded, their ſeperate powers was not altogether to be contemned. Therefore the later princes of this Realme, haue with more ſafetie wholy aboliſhed the vſe of abiuration and exile: and doe either by death extinguiſh the power, or by pardon alter the will of great offenders, from entring into deſperate and dangerous attempts: which men in miſetie and diſgrace, haue more vehemencie to begin, and more obſtinacie to continue. When the Samnites had once ſo encloſed the Romaine legions within certaine ſtreights, that they left them neither ſpace to fight, nor way to flie: but without force enforced them to yeelde: they ſent to *Herennius Pontius*, an aged ruler of their ſtate, for his aduiſe, what were beſt for them to doe: his anſwer was, that the Romaines ſhould be permitted to depart, without any hurt, loſſe or ſcorne. This pleaſed not ſuch as were either couetous for ſpoyle, or cruell for bloud: and therefore they ſent vnto him the ſecond time: who then returned anſwere, that the Romanes ſhould bee put to the ſworde, and not one man ſuffered to eſcape. The contrarietie of theſe two counſailes, brought the old man into ſuſpition of dotage: but he comming in perſon to the campe, maintained both to be good: the firſt whereof (which he thought beſt) would by vnexpected fauour, prouoke the Romanes to a perpetuall friendſhip: the ſecond would deferre the warres for many yeares, wherein the enemies ſhould hardly recouer ſtrength: third counſaile there was none that ſafely might be followed. Yes (ſaid the Samnites) to graunt them their liues, yet with ſuch conditions of ſpoyle and ſhame as the lawes of victorie doe lay vpon them. This is the way (anſwered *Herennius*) which neither winneth friends, nor weakeneth enemies: but will much encreaſe the fury againſt vs, & nothing diminiſh the force. And euen

ſo, in matters of more particularity, that courſe of puniſhment is out of courſe, which doth neither reclaime the mind of men, nor reſtraine the might from miſchieuous endeuours. But againe to our purpoſe.

The Duke of Norfolke, hauing now got a fall, where he thought to take his reſt, repented his enterpriſe, and vtterly condemned his light conceite of the Kings lightneſſe, and ſo with extreame griefe and anguiſh of minde, he departed out of the Realme into Almaine, and from thence trauelled to Venice; where through violence of thought and diſcontentment, in ſhort time he ended his dayes. This ſentence of baniſhment was giuen againſt him the ſame day of the yeere wherein the Duke of Glouceſter by his wicked meanes was ſtrangled to death at Calice.

The Duke of Hereford tooke his leaue of the King at Eltham, who their ſtroke away foure yeres of his baniſhment, & euen offred himſelfe to be fawned vpon & thanked, for ſo odious a benefit. And this infortunate aduenture he neither bare out vainglorioufly, nor yet tooke impatiently: but in the midſt of his miſery, retained ſtill his reputation and honour; ſhewing no ſigne of ſorrow or ſubmiſnes in his countenance, nor letting fall any intemperate and vnſeemely word. The people as he departed, by heaps flocked about him, ſome to ſee, and ſome to ſalute him: lamenting his departure in ſuch ſort, as though their onely light and delight did then forſake them: not ſparing to exclaime, that it was againſt the law of armes, againſt the cuſtome of the Realme, and againſt all right whatſoeuer, that he ſhould be exiled, who had done his honourable endeuour for the maintenance of his appeale. This affection was the more exceſſiue, for that the duke was driuen into exile by occaſion of his liberall ſpeeches againſt the moſt hatefull perſons in all the Realme: & being the onely noble man then aliue, of the popular faction, the loue was wholly accumulated vpon him, which was before deuided among the reſt. And thus the Duke leauing England, tooke

ſhipping

ſhipping, and paſſed the Seas to Calice, & from thence went into Fraunce: where hee was honourably entertained by *Charles* the French King, and found ſuch fauour, that hee ſhould haue taken to wife the onely daughter of *John* Duke Berrie, vnckle to the King of Fraunce, but King *Richarde*, fearing the ſequel, if the fauor which was borne to the Duke of Hereford within the Realme, ſhould be ſtrengthned with ſo great affinity in Fraunce, caſt ſuch ſtops in the way, that the marriage did not proceede.

This yeare the Lawrell trees withered, almoſt throughout the Realme, and afterwardes againſt all expectation, recouered life and flouriſhed againe. The ſame yeare in Chriſtmaſſe holy-dayes a deepe riuer which runneth betweene Snedliſtorie and Hareſwood, neere to Bedford ſuddainely ſtayed the ſtreame: ſo that for three miles in length, the channell was left drie, and no courſe of water did hinder paſſage on foot. This was afterwards interpreted to preſage, the reuolt of the people, & the diuiſion which happened the yeare following: to theſe we may adde certaine other prodegies, either forged in that fabulous age, or happening commonly and of courſe, are then onely noted, when any notable accident doth enſue. When *K. Richard* brought his firſt wife out of Beame, ſhe had no ſooner ſet foote within this land, but ſuch a tempeſt did forthwith ariſe, as had not bene ſeene many yeares before: whereby diuers ſhips within the hauen were quaſhed to peeces, but eſpecially, and firſt of all, the ſhip wherein the Queene was caried, this was the rather obſerued, becauſe ſuch ſtiffe ſtormes were likewiſe ſtirring; when the King brought his ſecond wife out of France: wherein many ſhips periſhed, & a great part of the Kings fardage was loſt. At Newcaſtle vpon Tine, as two ſhipwrights were ſquaring a peece of Timber, whereſoeuer they hewed, bloud iſſued forth in great abundance. At one of the Kings palaces, flies ſwarmed ſo thicke, that they obſcured the ayre: theſe fought together moſt fiercely, ſo that ſackfuls lay dead

vpon the ground, and this continued ſo long, that ſcarce the third part of them (as it was thought) remained aliue, many like accidents are recorded of that time; but I wil maintaine neither the truth of them, nor what they did pretend: being a matter wherin moſt men are rather ſuperſtitious, then not credulous, and doe oftentimes repute common occurrences to be ominous, when any ſtrange euent doth enſue. Yet as I am loath to auouch any vaine and trifling matter, ſo dare I not detract all truth frō things anciently reported; although done in an age wherein was ſome delight in lying, many do ſuppoſe, that thoſe things which are fatally allotted, though they neuer be auoided, yet ſometimes are foreſhewen: not ſo much that we may preuent them, as that wee ſhould prepare our ſelues againſt them.

In the two and twenty yeare of the raigne of K. *Richard*, *Iohn* of Gaunt. Duke of Lancaſter died, and was buried, on the north-ſide of the high alter, of the Cathedrall Church of S. Paule in London, hee was a man aduiſed and warie in his paſſages of life, liking better ſafe courſes with reaſon, then happy by chaunce: of his owne glory, he was neither negligent, nor ambitiouſly careful: towards the King hee caried himſelfe in terms honourable inough for a moderate prince, and yet not ſo plauſible as a vaine man would deſire; whereby their neuer happened to him any extraordinary matter, either in preiudice or preferment. After his death, the Duchy of Lancaſter did in right deuolue to the Duke of Hereforde, his eldeſt ſon: but the King (as the nature of man is inclinable, to hate thoſe whome hee hath harmed) ſeazed all the landes and goodes which appertained to the Duke of Lancaſter, into his owne handes and determined to perpetuate the baniſhment of Duke *Henry* his ſonne: reuoking the letters patēts, which were graunted to him at his departure: whereby his generall atturneis were enabled to proſecute his cauſes and ſue liuerie of any inheritance: which during his exile, might fall vnto him, his homage being reſpited for a reaſo-

a reasonable fine. The King supposed his estate more safe, by the weakenesse and want of the Duke, whome he had now in some iealousie and doubte: but these violent dealinges were meanes rather to prouoke his mischiefes, then to preuent them; for by iniurious suppressing of the Dukes greatnesse, he greatly augmented the same.

Edmund Duke of Yorke, the Kings only yncle which remained aliue, had hetherto enforced his patience, to endure many things against his liking: but nowe either in disdaine of this indignity, or in distrust both of his owne safety & of the common tranquilitie of the realme, hee retired himselfe with the Duke of Aumerle his son, to his house at Langley: supposing priuatnes to bee the best defence, both from danger and blame, where neither the King had iudgement to discerne, nor any about him had, either heart or honestly to admonish what was done amisse; where an honourable fame was held suspected, and a good life more in hazard thē a bad: protesting that none of these practises, were either deuised by his counsaile; or done by his consent.

At this time, the whole frame of the state was much shaken, and matters of great weight and moment did hang by a very slender thred. The King was plunged in pleasure and sloath: after whose example, others also (as men doe commonly conforme their mindes according to the princes disposition) gaue ouer themselues to delicacie and ease: whereby cowardise crept in, and shipwracke was made, both of manhood and glorie. The chiefest affaires of state had bene ordered for a long time, according to priuate respects, whereby the common wealth lost both the sattle, and the sauour, and seemed not at seasons and by degrees, but with a maine course, and at once to ruinate, and fall. The north parts were many times canuased, and by small, yet often losses, almost consumed by the Scots: who had there taken many townes and castles, and defaced all the countrey with slaughter and spoile. Likewise the south partes were often times wasted

by the Frenchmen: and in Fraunce many ſtrong holds were loſt. It was alſo conſtantly affirmed, that the King made agreement to deliuer vnto the King of Fraunce, the poſſeſſion of Calice, and of other townes which hee helde in thoſe parts; but the performance therof was reſiſted by the lords whether this were true or ſurmiſed probably, as agreeable to the Kings looſe gouernement, I cannot certainely affirme. As for Ireland, which in the time of K. *Edward* the third was kept in order and awe, by acquainting the people with religion and ciuility, and drawing them to delight in the plenty and pleaſures of well reclaimed countries; whereby it yeelded to the Kings coffers, thirty thouſand pounds euery yere: it was then ſuffered to runne into waſte, and the people by rudeneſſe became intractible: ſo that the houlding thereof charged the King, with the yearely diſpence of thirty thouſand markes. Many ſuccours had beene ſent into theſe ſeuerall countries; but ſcatteringly, and dropping, and neuer ſo many at once, as to furniſh the warres fully. The King made ſome expeditions in his owne perſon, with greate preparation and charge: but beeing once out of credite, whatſoeuer fell out wel, was attributed to others; miſtournes were imputed onely to him. If any thing were happily atchieued by ſome of the nobility, it was by the Kings baſe hearted paraſites, to whom military vertue was altogether vnpleaſant ſo extinuated, or depraued, or enuied, that it was ſeldome rewarded, ſo much as with countenance and thankes: yea ſometimes it procured ſuſpicion and danger; the King being informed by a cunning kinde of enemies, commenders, that to be a diſcreet and valiant commander in the fielde, was a vertue peculiar to a Prince: and that it was a perillous point, to haue the name of a man of priuate eſtate, famous for the fame in euery mans mouth. Herevpon, fewe ſought to riſe by vertue & valure, the readier way was, to pleaſe the pleaſant humour of the Prince. Likewiſe matters of peace, were managed by men of weakeſt ſufficiency, by whoſe counſell either

either ignorant or corrupt, the deſtruction of the beſt harted nobility, was many times attempted, & at the laſt wrought. The profits and reuenues of the crowne were ſaid to bee let to farme, the King making himſelfe landlord of his realme, and challenging no great priuiledge by his reigne, but onely a diſſolute and vncontrouled life. Great ſummes of mony were yearely rather exacted from the ſubiects, then by them voluntarily graunted: whereof no good did enſue, but the maintenance of the Kings priuate delightes, & the aduancement of his hatefull fauorites. To theſe he was ſomewhat aboue his power liberall: for which cauſe, he was faine to borrow, begge, and extort in other places: but he purchaſed not ſo much loue by the one, as hate by the other. Beſides the ordinary termes of tenthes and fiftenthes, which were many times paid double in one yeare, diuers newe impoſitions were by him deuiſed & put in vſe; ſometimes exacting xii.d. of euery perſon throughout the realme: ſometimes of euery religious man and woman vi.s. viii.d. and of euery ſecular prieſt aſmuch, and of euery lay perſon maried or ſole, xii.d. Vnder the fauourable tearme of beneuolence, hee wiped away from the people ſuch heapes of money, as were little anſwerable to that free and friendly name. He borrowed in all places of the realme great ſummes of money vpon his priuy ſeales, ſo that no man of worth could eſcape his loane: but he ſeldome, and to fewe, returned payment againe.

This preſent yeare, he ſent certaine Biſhops, and other perſonages of honor, to all the ſhires and corporations within the realme, to declare vnto the people the Kings heauie diſpleaſure againſt them, for that they had bin abetters and complices of the Duke of Glouceſter, and of the Earles of Arundell and Warwicke: and that the King was minded to make a roade vpon them, as common enemies, except they would acknowledge their offence, and ſubmit themſelues to his mercy and grace. Hereupon, all the men of worth in euery ſhire and Towne corporate, made their ac-

knowledgment & ſubmiſſion in writing vnder their ſeales; & afterwardes were faine to graunt vnto the King, ſuch importable ſummes of money, to purchaſe againe his fauour, as the land being already greatly impouerifhed, they were hardly able to endure. Then were exacted of thē ſtrange & vnaccuſtomed oathes, which were put likewiſe in writing, vnder their ſeale. They were alſo cōpelled to ſet their hands and ſeales to blancke chartes; wherein the King might afterwardes cauſe to be written what he would; ſo that all the wealth of the realme was in a manner at his deuotion and pleaſure. Theſe and ſuch like violences, were far wide from the moderate gouernement of K. *Henrie* the ſecond: whoe maintaining great warres, and obteyning a larger dominion, then perteyned at any other time to this realme of England, neuer demaunded ſubſidie of his ſubiects: and yet his treaſure after his death, was founde to be nine hundred thouſand poundes, beſides his Iewels, and his plate.

In this ſort the King bearing a heauie hand vpon his ſubiects, and they againe a heauie hart againſt him, and being withall a Prince weake in action, and not of valure ſufficient to beare out his vices by might, the people at length reſolued to reuolt, and rather to runne into the hazard of a ruinous rebellion, then to endure ſafetie ioyned with ſlauerie: ſo they attended occaſion, which ſhortly after was thus offered. The King receiued letters of aduertiſement out of Ireland (which being priuiledged from other venimous beaſts hath alwaies beene peſtered with traytors) how the Barbarous Iriſh had cut in pieces his garriſon, and ſlaine *Roger Mortimer* Earle of Marſh, (who had beene declared heire apparent to the Crowne) exerciſing all the crueltie in waſting of the country, which wrath and rage of victorie could incite a Barbarous people to practiſe. This loſſe being great in it ſelfe, the hard affection of the people did much augmēt by report: wherupon the King deliberated, whether it were requiſite that hee ſhould vnder-take the warre in perſon, or

commit

commit it to cõmanders of lower degree? Some perſwaded him, that wholy to ſubdue Ireland, ſtood neither with pollicie, nor yet almoſt with poſſibilitie: for if it were fully and quietly poſſeſſed, ſome gouernour might hap to growe to that greatneſſe, as to make himſelfe abſolute Lord thereof and therefore it was better to hold it certaine by weake enemies, then ſuſpected by mightie friends, and yet by what meanes ſhould thoſe bogges & thoſe woods be ouercome, which are more impregnable, then the walled Townes of other Countries? then if the purpoſe were, onely to repreſſe the ſauage people, the war was of no ſuch weight, as ſhould draw the King to ſtand in the fielde: and therefore he might ſtay in the weſt partes of England, and from thence make ſhew of the princely puiſſance and ſtate; neither venturing his perſon without cauſe, and ready at hand if neede ſhould require. Others were of opinion, that to ſubdue and repleniſh Ireland, was a matter neither of difficultie nor daunger: but both profitable and honourable to the King, and to God very acceptable. For if credit might bee giuen to auncient hiſtories, this realme of England was once as inſuperable with bogs and woods, as Ireland was then: but the Romane conquerors kept not their preſidiarie Souldiers in idle garriſon, whereby many times the minde grew mutinous, and the body diſeaſed, and both vnable for the labour and hardneſſe of the field: but they held as well them, as the ſubdued. Britaines continually exerciſed, either in building of townes in places of beſt aduãtage; or in making of high waies: or elſe in drayning and pauing of bogs: by which meanes the countrie was made fruitfull and habitable, and the people learned the good maners, not rudely to repulſe the flattering aſſaults of pleaſure; preferring ſubiection with plentie, before beggerly and miſerable libertie. That the ſame Romaines alſo kept many larger Countries in quiet obedience, (ſo long as they were quiet among themſelues) without either feare or danger of any gouernours: firſt by deuiding them into ſmal

prouinces: Secondly by conſtituting in euery prouince diuers officers, as Lieuetenants and procurators, whereof one was able to reſtraine the other; the firſt hauing power ouer the bodies of the ſubiects, the ſecond ouer their goods: thirdly, by changing theſe officers euery yeare; which was too ſhort a time to eſtabliſh a ſoueraignty: Laſtly, by retaining at Rome, their wiues and children, and whole priuate eſtate, as pledges for their true demeanure. That the daunger was rather to be feared, leaſt a weake enemie whileſt hee was contemned, ſhould gather ſtrength and be able to ſtand vpon termes of withſtanding: example hereof, happened whē the Romaines ouercame this Iland; for many Britaines who vpon no cōditions would abide bōdage, withdrew thēſelues into the Northparts of the land, & by maintaining their auncient cuſtome of painting their bodies, were called of the Romanes, *Picti*: theſe were neglected a long time, and held in ſcorne, as neither of force, nor of number to bee thought worthy the name of enemies: but afterwards they confederated themſelues with other people, and ſo ſharply aſſaulted the ſubdued Britaines, that being vnable to reſiſt, & the Romanes ſhrincking from thē, they were conſtrained to deſire helpe of the Saxons: and ſo betweene their enemies & their aides (being ſet as it were betwixt the beetle and the blocke) they loſt the poſſeſſion of the beſt part of their land. That it was a pittifull pollicy for aſſurance of peace, to laye all waſt as a wildernes, and to haue dominion ouer trees and beaſts, and not ouer men. That hereby the King did looſe the reuenue of a fruitfull country, & the benefit of wealthy ſubiects, which are the ſureſt treaſure that a Prince can haue. That hereby alſo the maieſtie of his eſtate was much impaired: for (as Salomō ſaith) *The honor of a king cōſiſteth in the multitude of ſubiectes.* That the Country being vnfurniſhed of people, was open to al opportunity of forrain enemies. That if none of theſe reſpects would moue: yet the King was bounde in duty to reduce thoſe ſauages to the true worſhippe of God,

who

who did then either prophanely contemne him, or superstitiously serue him.

These reasons so weighed with the King, that he gathered a mighty armie, determining to goe in person into Ireland, & to pacifie the country before his returne: but al his prouision was at the charge of the subiects: and wheras in time of sedition, a wise Prince will least grieue his people. As seeming to stand in some sort at their courtesie, & hauing to imploy their bodies beside; the King in peace no stoarer for war, was forced to offend, when hee should haue bene most carefull to win fauour. So about Whitsontide, he set forth on his voyage with many men, and few souldiours; being a dissolute and vntrained company, and out of all compasse of obedience, hee caried with him his whole treasure, and all the goods and auncient Iewels appertaining to the crowne. In his company went the Duke of Aumerle, and the Duke of Exceter, and diuers other noble men, and many Bishops, and the Abbot of Westminster. He also tooke with him the sonnes of the Duke of Glouceſter, and of the Duke of Hereford; whose fauourours he chiefly feared.

When hee came to Bristowe, hee was put into suspicion, (whether vpon some likelyhood, or meere mallice) that *Henry Percy* Earle of Northumberland and certaine others, entended some disloyall enterprize against him: and for that cause did not follow him into Ireland, but had fastned friendship with the King of Scots, vpon purpose to retire themselues into his country, if their attempts should faile. Hereupon the king sent message that the Earle should forthwith come vnto him with all the power that hee could conueniently make. The Earle returned answere, that it was vnnecessary in respect of that seruice, to draw men from such distant places; for the Irish rebels were neither so many nor so mighty, but the King had strength at hand sufficient to suppresse them: that it was also daungerous to disfurnish the North parts of their forces, and to offer opportunity to the Scottish borderers,

rers, who were alwayes vncertaine friends in their extremities, and assured enemies vpon aduantage. The King seeing his commandement in these termes both contemned and controulled, would not stand to reason the matter with the Earle, neither had he the reason to defer reuenge vntill hee had full power to worke it: but presently in the violence of his fury, caused the Earle and his confederates to be proclaimed traitors, and all their lands and goods to be seized to his vse. The Earle tooke grieuously this disgrace, and determined to cure & close vp his harme with the disturbance of the common state. And thus the King hauing feathered these arrowes against his owne brest, passed foorth in his iourney into Ireland.

This expedition at the first proceeded and succeeded exceedingly well, and the king obtained many victories, euen without battell, as leading his men to a slaughter rather then to a fight: for the sauage Irish were not vnder one gouernement, but were diuided into many partialities and factions, and seldome did two or three parts ioyne their common strength and study together: so whilest one by one did fight, all of them were eyther subdued or slaine. But these newes little reioyced the common people, they lusted not to listen thereto, their common talke was to recount their common grieuances, to lay them together, & aggrauate them by construction: euery man more abounding in complaints then he did in miseries. Also the noblemen (the principall obiect of cruelty) began to discourse both their priuate dangers, & the deformities of the state: and vpon opportunity of the Kings absence, some of them did conspire to cut off that authority which would not be confined, & to cast it vpon some other, who was most like to repaire that which *K. Richard* had ruined: or if (sayde they) our power shall come short of so good a purpose, yet wil we sell him both our liues & lands with glory in the field, which with certainty in peace we can not enioy. The onely man vpon whom all men resolued, was

Henrie

Henry duke of Hereford (whom ſince the death of his father they called duke of Lancaſter) not at his own motion or deſire, but becauſe he was generally eſteemed meet: as being of the royall bloud, and next by diſcent fró males to the ſucceſſion of the crowne: one that had made honourable prooſe of his vertues and valure: the onely man of note that remained aliue, of thoſe that before had ſtood in armes againſt the King, for the behooſe of the Common-wealth: for which cauſe he was deeply touched at that time both in honour & in ſtate. This attempt pleaſed as poſſible to proue, and of neceſſity to be followed: whereupon they ſecretly diſpatched their letters to the Duke, ſoliciting his ſpeedy returne into England, & declaring that aſwel for the benefit of the realm, as for their owne particular ſafety, they were forced to vſe force againſt King *Richard*: that if it would pleaſe him to make the head, they would furniſh him the body of an able army, to expell the King from his vnfortunate gouernment, and to ſettle the poſſeſſion of the Crowne in him, who was more apt and able to ſuſtaine the ſame: that they would not prouide him a baſe multitude only, & they themſelues helpe in bare wiſhes & aduiſe, but would alſo adioyne their hands and their liues; ſo that the peril ſhould be common to all, the glory only his, if fortune fauored the enterpriſe. Theſe letters were conueyed by men crafty and bolde, yet of ſure credit, and inward in truſt with he Duke: who paſsing into France, firſt aſſociated vnto thé, *Thomas Arundell* late Archbiſhop of Canterburie, & at that time (whether deſeruedly or without cauſe) an exile in France: then they trauailed by ſeuerall waies, and in counterfeit attire to Parris, where all met at the houſe of one Clugney, where the Duke thé ſoiourned. After ſome courteſies of courſe, with welcome on the one ſide, & thankes on the other, and ioy of both: the Archbiſhop of Canterburie hauing obtained of the Duke priuacie and ſilence, made vnto him a ſolemne oration in theſe wordes, or to this ſence following.

We are ſent vnto you (right high and noble Prince) from the chiefe Lords and ſtates of our land, not to ſeeke reuenge againſt our King vpon priuate iniury and diſpleaſure: nor vpon a deſperate diſcontentment to ſet the ſtate on fire: nor to procure the ambitious aduancement of any particular perſon: but to open vnto you the deformities and decaies of our broken eſtate, and to deſire your aide, in ſtaying the ruinous downfall of the ſame. The remembrance of the honourable reputation that our countrie hath borne, and the noble actes which it hath archiued, doth nothing els, but make the baſenes more bitter vnto vs, wherinto it is new fallen. Our victorious armes haue heretofore bene famous and memorable, not onely within the bownds of our Ocean ſea, and in the Ilands adioyning vnto vs; but alſo in France, in Spaine, and in other parts of Europe, yea in Aſia and in Affricke, againſt the Infidels and Barbarians: ſo that all Chriſtian Princes haue bene either glad to imbrace our friendſhip, or loath to prouoke vs to hoſtility. But nowe the rude Scots, whoſe ſpirits we haue ſo many times broken, and brought on their knees, doe ſcornfully inſult vpon vs: the naked and fugitiue Iriſh, haue ſhaked of our ſhackles, and glutted themſelues vppon vs, with maſſachres & ſpoiles: with theſe we dayly fight, not for glory, but to liue: inſomuch as we are become a pitty to our friends, and a verie ieaſt to our moſt baſe and contemptible enemies. In deed the King hath both ſent and led great armies into theſe countries, but in ſuch ſort, that they haue much waſted the realme with their maintenance; but neither reuenged nor relieued it with their armes: and no meruaile, for all our diligent and diſcreete leaders (the verie ſinewes of the field) are either put to death, or baniſhed, or els liue buried in obſcurity and diſgrace: and the marſhalling of all affaires is committed (without any reſpect of ſufficiency or deſert) to the counſaile & conduct of thoſe, who can beſt apply themſelues to the Kings youthfull delights. Among theſe, auncient nobility is accompted a vaine ieaſt, wealth,

and

and vertue are the ready meanes to bring to deſtruction.

It grieues me to ſpeake, but it helpeth not, to hide that which euery man ſeeth: our auncestours liued in the higheſt pitch and perfection of libertie; but we of ſeruilitie, being in the nature not of ſubiectes, but of abiectes, and flat ſlaues; not to one intractable Prince onely, but to many proude & diſdainefull fauorites; not alwayes the ſame, but euer new; & no ſooner haue we ſatisfied ſome, but freſh hungrie maſters are ſtreightwayes ſet vpon vs, who haue more endamaged vs by extortion & bribes, then the enemy hath done by the ſword. What vnuſuall kindes of exactions are dayly put in practiſe? without either meſure or end, and oftentimes without need; or if any be, it proceedeth rather vpon ryotous expenſes, then any neceſſary of honourable charge: and great ſummes of money are pulled and pilled from good ſubiects, to be throwne away amongſt vnprofitable vnthrifts. And if any man openeth his mouth againſt theſe extorted taxations, then either by feined imputatiō of capital crimes, or by ſmal matters aggrauated, or elſe by open crueltie and force, his life or libertie is forthwith hazarded. It were to tedious, too odious, too friuolous to put you in mind of particular examples, as though your owne eſtate, & the lamentable loſſe of your vnckle, & other noble friends, could be forgotten: yea I ſuppoſe that there is no man of qualitie within the Realme, who either in his owne perſon, or in his neereſt friends, doth not plainly perceiue, that no man enioyeth the ſafegard of his goods, and ſuertie of his body; but rich men in the one, & great men in the other are continually endaungered. This then is our caſe; but what is our remedy? we haue endured, & we haue entreated: but our pacience hath drawne no more heauie burthens, and our complaints procured more bitter blowes: by the one our liuings, & our liues by the other are daily deuoured. And therfore we are now cōpelled to ſhake off our ſhoulders this importable yoke, and ſubmit our ſelues to the ſoueraigntie of ſome more moderate & worthy per-

ſon: not ſo much for the griefe of our miſeries which are paſt nor for the paine of our preſent diſtreſſes, as for feare of ſuch daungers as are moſt like to enſue, for the King hath cut away the chiefe of the nobilitie, and the commons hee hath pared to the quicke, and ſtill hee harrieth vs as a conquered countrie: whereby we are layd bare to the hauocke of al our enemies, & vtterly diſabled, not only to recouer that which is loſt, but alſo to retain euen that which is left. But to whom ſhould we complaine? what ſuccour, whoſe ayde ſhould we deſire? you are the onely man, who in right ſhould, and in wiſedome can, and in goodnes will (we hope) relieue vs. For you are neereſt to the King in bloud, and therefore ought to haue the rule of that which his weakneſſe cannot wield. Your yeares are wel ſtaied from the light conceits of youth, and ſo ſpent, that all your actions haue made proofe of abilitie in gouernment of greateſt charge: nothing paſt, needeth excuſe, and feare is vaine for any thing to come. The paines and perils which heretofore you haue vndertaken for the benefite of your countrie, putteth vs alſo in good hope, that in theſe extremities you will not forſake vs; wee are all as in a ſhip that is ready to ſink, as in a houſe that is ready to fal, & doe moſt humbly craue and call for your helpe, now or elſe neuer ſhew your ſelfe in fauour of your country men, to free vs, to free your ſelfe, to free the whole ſtate from theſe dangers and decayes, by taking into your hands the ſcepter and diademe of the Realme, and reducing againe the gouernement thereof to a princely freedome; in combining the ſoueraignty of one with the libertie of al. Omit not this occaſion: to ſet forth to the view of the world, as in a large field, & at free ſcope your vertue and courage, by relieuing miſerable wretches from their oppreſſors: which action hath been ſo highly honoured, that many heathen men for the ſame, haue beene accompted as Gods. This we are conſtrained to offer and entreate: this is both honorable for you to accept, and eaſie to be performed: and ſo much the more, in that no

Princes

Prince, by any people haue bene desired with greater affection, nor shall be with more dutie obeyed.

The Duke entertained this speech with great moderation of mind, shewing himselfe neither disturbed thereat, nor excessiue in ioy. His aunswere concerning the King, was respective and wel tempered; rather lamenting his weakenes then blaming his malice. Concerning himselfe hee spake so modestly, that he seemed rather worthy of a kingdome, then desirous. The life (quoth he) which hitherto I haue led, hath alwayes bene free from ambitious attempts: and the stayednesse of my yeeres, hath now setled my mind from aspiring thoughts: and experience of former dangers hath bred in me a warie regard in such weightie proceedings, for to cast a King out of state, is an enterprise not hastily to be resolued vpon, nor easily effected: but suppose that matter not impossible, and perhaps not hard, yet the rareneſſe of the like precedents, will make the action seeme iniurious to most men: and he that shall attaine a kingdome vpon opinion of desert, doth charge himselfe with great expectation, and how honourably soeuer he carry himselfe, shall neuer want his deadly enuiers: besides this, in ciuill dissentions the faith of the whole people is fleeting, and daunger is to be doubted from euery particular person: so that it is possible that al may fall away, and impossible to beware of euery one. Therefore I could rather wish to spend the course of my yeeres which yet remaine, in this obscure, yet safe and certaine state, then to thrust my selfe vpon the pikes of those perils, which being once entred into, are daungerous to follow, & deadly to forsake: for in priuate attempts, a man may step and stope whē he please: but he that aymeth at a kingdome, hath no middle course betweene the life of a prince, & the death of a traytor.

The Archbishop hearing this, did as vainly persist in importuning the duke, as he vainly seemed vnwilling & strāge. The state (said he) wherein now you stand, is not so safe and certaine as you doe conceiue. Indeed, by reiecting our re-

queſt you ſhal auoid certaine dignity, and therewith vncertaine & contingent dangers; but you ſhal procure moſt certaine deſtruction both to your ſelfe and vs. For this ſecret cannot be kept long ſecret from the king: and euen good princes are nice in points of ſoueraignty, & beare a nimble eare to the touch of that ſtring: and it more hurteth a ſubiect to be eſteemed worthy of the kingdome, then it will profit him to haue refuſed the offer. What then will he do, who putteth the chiefeſt ſuretie of his raigne in the baſeneſſe & barneſſe of his ſubiects? whoſe head being poſſeſſed with eternall ielouſy, meketh euery preſumption a proofe, and euery light ſurmiſe a ſtrong ſuſpition againſt them. Surely ſince the generall fauour & loue which the people beareth you, hath bereaued you of your liberty, this their generall deſire will not leaue your life vntouched. As for vs, if we either faint in our intent, or faile in the enterpriſe, *actum eſt*: we ſhalbe as lambs among lions: and no conqueſt can be ſo cruell as the Kings reigne will be ouer vs. Certainely we haue gone too far, for to go backe; and the time is paſt, when you for ambition & we for enuy might ſeeme to attempt againſt the King: the attainment of the kingdome muſt now be a ſanctuary & refuge for vs both. The like examples are not rare (as you affirme) nor long ſince put in practiſe, nor far hence to be fetched. The kings of Denmarke and of Sweueland, are oftentimes baniſhed by their ſubiects; oftentimes impriſoned & put to their fine, the Princes of Germany, about an hundred yeeres paſt depoſed *Adulphus* the Emperour: and are now in had to depoſe their emperor *Wenceſlaus*. The Earle of Flanders was a while ſince driuen out of his dominion by his owne people, for vſurping greater power then appertained to his eſtate. The auncient Britaines chaſed away their owne King *Carecious*, for the lewdneſſe of his life, and cruelty of his rule. In the time of the Saxon *Heptarchie*, *Bernredus* King of *Mercia*, for his pride and ſloutnes towardes his people, was by them depoſed. Likewiſe *Aldredus & Ethelber-*

tus

two Kinges of Northumberland, were for their disorders expelled by their subiects. Since the victorie of the Normaines, the Lords endeauoured to expell King *Henry* the third, but they were not able: yet were they able to depose King *Edward* the second, and to constitute his young sonne *Edward* King in his steade: these are not all, and yet enough to cleare this action of rarenesse in other countries; & noueltie in our. The difficulty indeede is somewhat, because the excellencie is great: but they that are affraide of euery bush, shall neuer take the bird: & your selfe had once some tryall hereof, when without battaile, without bloud or blows, you had the King at such a lift, as he held his Crowne at your courtesie, euen at that time when his grieuances were, neither for greatnes nor continuance, so intollerable as now they are growne: and by reason of his tender yeres, not out of all compasse, both of excuse for the fault, and of hope for an amendment. And as concerning the lawfulnesse.

Nay (sayd the Duke) where necessity doth enforce, it is superfluous to vse speach, either of easinesse, or of lawfulnesse: necessitie will beate thorow brasen Walles; and can be limited by no lawes. I haue felt verie deeply my part in these calamities, and I would you knew with what griefe I haue beheld your: for what other reward haue I receiued, of all my trauailes and seruices, but the death of my vncle and deerest friends, my owne banishment, the imprisonment of my children, and losse of my inheritance? and what haue beene returned to you, for your bloud so often shed in his vnfortunate warres, but continuall tributes, scourges, gallowes, and slauerie? I haue made sufficient proofe, both of pacience in my owne miseries, and of pittie in your: remedy them hither to I could not: If now I can, I will not refuse to sustain that part, which your importunitie doth impose vpon me, if we preuaile, we shall recouer againe our libertie: if we loose, our state shall be no worse thē now it is: and since we must needs perish, either deseruingly, or without cause, it is more hono-

rable to put our ſelues vpon the aduenture eyther to winne our liues, or to dye for deſerte: and although our liues were ſafe, which in deede are not, yet to abandon the ſtate, and ſleepe ſtill in this ſlauerie; were a poynt of negligence and ſloath. It remaineth then, that we vſe both ſecrecie and celeritie, laying hold vpon the oportunitie which the Kings abſence hath now preſented vnto vs: for in al enterpriſes which neuer are commended before they bee atchieued, delayes are daungerous; and more ſafe it is to be found in action, then in counſaile: for they that deliberate onely to rebell, haue rebelled already.

So the meſſengers departed into England, to declare the Dukes acceptance, and to make preparation againſt his arriuall, both of armour, and of ſubiection, and deſire to obey. Preſently after their departure, the Duke ſignified to *Charles* king of Fraunce, that he had a deſire to goe into Brittaine, to viſite *Iohn* Duke of Brittaine, his friend and kinſman. The King ſuſpecting no further fetch, ſent letters of commendation in his fauour, to the Duke of Brittaine: but if he had ſurmiſed any dangerous drift againſt King *Richard*, who not long before, had taken his daughter to wife; in ſtead of letters of ſafe-conducte, he would haue founde lettes to haue kept him ſafe from diſturbing his ſonne in lawes eſtate.

Aſſoone as the Duke was come into Brittaine, he waged certaine ſouldiours, and preſently departed to Calice, and ſo committed to ſea for England; giuing forth, that the onely cauſe of his voyage, was to recouer the Duchie of Lanchaſter, and the reſt of his lawfull inheritance, which the King wrongfully deteyned from him. In this companie was *Thomas Arundell* the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and *Thomas* the ſonne & heire of *Richard* late Earle of Arundell, who was very yong, and had a little before eſcaped out of priſon, and fled into France to the Duke. The reſidue of his attendants were very few, not exceeding the number of fifteen lances: ſo that it is hard to eſteeme whether it was greater maruaile,

either

either that he durſt attempt, or that he did preuaile with ſo ſmal a company: but his chiefeſt cõfidence was in the fauour & aſſiſtance of the people within the realme. So he did beare with England, yet not in a ſtreight courſe, but floated along the ſhoare, making head ſometimes to one coaſt, and ſometime to another, to diſcouer what forces were in a readines, either to reſiſt or to receiue him.

As he was in this ſort houering on the ſeas, L. *Edmund* duke of Yorke, the Kings vncle, to whom the King had committed the cuſtody of the Realme during the time of his abſence, called vnto him *Edmũd Stafford* biſhop of Chicheſter, L. Chancellour, & *W. Scroupe* earle of Wiltſhire, L. Treaſurour of the Realme, alſo, Sir *Iohn Buſhie*, Sir *Henry Greene*, ſir *William Bagot*, Sir *Iohn Ruſſell*, and certain others of the kings Priuy councell; and entred into deliberation what was beſt to be done. At the laſt it was concluded, deceitfully by ſome, vnskilfully by others, and by all perniciouſly for the king; to leaue the ſea coſts, and to leaue London, the very walles and caſtle of the Realme, and goe to *S. Albons*, there to gather ſtrength ſufficient to encounter with the duke. It is moſt certaine that the dukes ſide was not any wayes more furthered, then by this diſſembling and deceiueable dealing: for open hoſtility and armes, may openly and by armes be reſiſted: but priuy practiſes as they are hardly eſpied, ſo are they ſeldome auoided. And thus by this meanes the duke landed about the feaſt of *Saint Martin*, without let or reſiſtance, at Rauenſpur in Houlderneſſe, as moſt writers affirme.

Preſently after his arriual, there reſorted to him Lord *Henry Pearcie* Earle of Northumberland, and Lord *Henry* his ſon Earle of Weſtmerland, Lorde *Radulph Neuill*, Lorde *Roſe*, Lord *Willoughby*, & many other perſonages of honor, whoſe company encreaſed reputation to the cauſe, and was a great countenance and ſtrength to the Dukes further purpoſes. And firſt they tooke of him an oath, that he ſhould neither procure nor permit any bodily harme to be done vnto King

Richard; whereupon they bound themſelues vpon their honours to proſecute all extremities againſt his miſchieuous counſailers. And this was one ſtep further then that which the Duke pretended at the firſt, when he tooke ſhipping at Callice, which was only the recouery of his inheritance: but that was as yet not determined, nor treated, and of ſome perhaps not thought vpon; which afterwards it did enſue: and ſo was that place eaſily inſinuated into by degrees, which with maine and direct violence would hardlier haue bin obtained. Then the common people deſperate vpon newe deſires, and without head, head-long to matters of innouation, flocked very faſt to theſe noble men, the better ſort for loue to the common-wealth, ſome vpon a wanton leuity, and vaine deſire of change, others in regard of their owne diſtreſſed and decayed eſtate, who ſetting their chiefe hopes and deuices vppon a generall diſturbance, were then moſt ſafe when the common ſtate was moſt vnſure. So betweene the one and the other, the multitude did in ſhort time increaſe to the number of threeſcore thouſand able ſouldiers.

The Duke finding this fauour not onely to exceede his expectation, but euen aboue his wiſh, he thought it beſt to followe the current whilſt the ſtreame was moſt ſtrong, knowing right well, that if fortune be followed, as the firſt doe fall out, the reſt will commonly ſucceede. Therefore cutting of vnneceſſary delaies, with all poſſible celerity he haſtned towardes London: to the end that poſſeſſing himſelfe thereof as the chiefe place within the realme, both for ſtrength and ſtore, he might there make the ſeat of the warre. In this iourney no ſigne nor ſhew of hoſtility appeared, but all the way as he paſſed, the men of chiefeſt quallity and power adioyned themſelues vnto him, ſome vpon heat of affection, ſome for feare, others vpon hope of reward after victorie; euerie one vpon cauſes diſlike, with like ardent deſire contending, leaſt any ſhould ſeeme more forward then they: In euerie place alſo where he made ſtay, rich gifts and pleaſant deuiſes

ſes were preſented vnto him, with large ſupply both of force and prouiſion: far aboue his neede: and the common people which for their greatneſſe take no care of publique affaires, and are in leaſt daunger by reaſon of their baſenes, with ſhoutes and acclamations gaue their applauſe: extolling the Duke, as the onely man of courage, and ſaluting him King; but ſpending many contumelious termes vpon King *Richard*, and deprauing him as a ſimple and ſluggiſh man, a daſtard, a meycocke, and one altogether vnworthy to beare rule; ſhewing themſelues as much without reaſon in rayling vpon the one, as they were in flattering the other. Againe, the Duke for his part was not negligent to vncouer the head to bowe the body, to ſtretch forth the hand to euery meane perſon, and to vſe all other complements of popular behauiour: wherewith the mindes of the common multitude are much delighted and drawen; taking that to bee courteſie, which the ſeuerer ſort accompt abaſement. When he came to the citty, he was there likewiſe very richly and royally entertained, with proceſſions and pageants, and diuers other triumphant deuiſes & ſhews; the ſtandings in all the ſtreets, where he paſſed were taken vp to behold him; and the vnable multitude, who otherwiſe could not, yet by their good words, wiſhes, and wils, did teſtify vnto him their louing affections: neither did there appeare in any man at that time, any memory of faith and allegiance towardes King *Richard*, but as (in ſeditions it alwayes hapneth) as the moſt ſwayed all did goe.

On the contrarie ſide, the Duke of Yorke with the reſt of his counſaile, fell to muſtering of men at S. Albones, for the King: but as the people out of diuers quarters were called thither, many of thē proteſted, that they would doe nothing to the harme and preiudice of the Duke of Lancaſter, who they ſaid was vniuſtly expelled, firſt from his country, and afterwardes from his inheritance. Then *W. Scroupe* Earle of Wiltſhire L. Treaſurer, S. *Iohn Buſh*, *Sir W. Bagot*, and *Sir Hen-*

rie Greene, perceiuing the ſtiffe reſolution of the people for-ſooke the Duke of Yorke, and the L. Chanceller, and fled to-wards Briſtow; intending to paſſe the ſeas into Ireland to the king. Theſe foure were they vpon whom the common fame went, that they had taken of the king his realm to farm: who were ſo odious vnto the people, that their preſence turned away the hearts of many ſubiects; yea it was thought, that more for diſpleaſure againſt them, then againſt the king, the reuolt was made. For being the only men of credit and au-thority with the King, vnder falſe colour of obedience they wholy gouerned both the realme & him; to many miſchiefes corrupting his mind, & in many abuſing his name, either a-gainſt his will, or without his knowledge, inſomuch as hee was innocent of much harme which paſſed vnder his com-maundement: but the patience of the people could not en-dure that two or three ſhould rule all; not by reaſon they were ſufficient, but becauſe they were in fauour: and the King in that he permitted them whom he might haue brid-led, or was ignorant of that which he ſhould haue knowen, by tollerating and wincking at their faults, made them his owne, & opened thereby the way to his deſtruction. So of-ten times it falleth out to bee as dangerous to a prince to haue hurtfull and hatefull officers in place and ſeruices of weight, as to be hurtfull and hatefull himſelfe.

The Duke of Yorke either amazed at this ſodain change, or fearing his aduenture if he ſhould proceed in reſiſtance, gaue ouer the cauſe, and preferred preſent ſecurity, before duty with daunger; giuing moſt men occaſion to miſdeeme by his dealing, that he ſecretly fauoured the dukes enterpriſe likewiſe all the other counſailers of that ſide, either openly declared for the Duke or ſecretly wiſhed him wel: & aban-doning all priuate direction & aduiſe, adioyned themſelues to the common courſe, preſuming thereby of greater ſafety.

Duke *Henrie* in the meane time being at London, entred into deliberation with his friends, what way were beſt to be followed. At the laſt, hauing conſidered the forwardneſſe of

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the people, the greatnes of the perill whereinto they had already plunged. & the kings irreconcilable nature, wherof he made proofe against the duke of Glocester, and the earles of Arundel & of Warwicke: they finally resolued to expel him from his dignity, & to constitute duke *Henry* king in his sted: and to that end open war was denounced against the King, and against all his partakers, as enemies to the quiet and prosperity of the realme; and pardon also promised to all those that would submit themselues to follow the present course, otherwise to look for no fauour, but all extremities. None of the nobility durst openly oppose himselfe to these designes: some vnwilling to play al their state at a cast; kept themselus at liberty, to be directed by succesle of further enent: others consented coldly, and in tearmes of doubtfull construction, with intent to interpret them afterwards, as occasion should change: but the most part did directly and resolutely enter into the cause, and made their fortunes common with the Duke, in daunger of the attempt, but not in honour: among whome, the Duke standing vp, vsed speech to this purpose.

I am returned here as you see, at your procurement, and by your agreement haue entred into armes for the common liberty: wee haue hitherto prosperously proceeded, but in what tearmes we now stand, I am altogether vncertaine. A priuate man I am loath to be accompted, being designed to be King by you; and a Prince I cannot be esteemed, whilst another is in possession of the kingdome. Also your name is in suspence, whether to be termed rebels or subiects, vntill you haue made manifest that your allegeance was bound rather to the state of the realme then the person of the Prince. Now you are the men who haue both caused this doubtfulnes and must cleare the same; your parts still remaineth to be performed; your vertue & valure must adde strength to the goodnesse of this action. We haue already attempted so far, that all hope of pardon is extinct; so that if wee should shrinke back, & breake of the enterprise, no mercy is to be expected

but butchery and gibbets, and all extremities: if we driue of & delay the accompliſhment thereof, we ſhall looſe the opportunity which now is offred, and open to our enemies occaſion of aduantage. For the peoples bloud is vp now on our ſide, and nothing is wanting but our owne diligence & care: let vs not therefore trifle out the time of doing, in talking and deliberating: it is beſt ſtriking whilſt the iron is hoate: let vs ſet forth roundly, and poſſeſſe our ſelues with ſpeed of al the parts of the realme: and ſo we ſhall bee able either to keepe out our concurrent, or els to entertaine him litle to his liking. So troups of men were ſent into euery quarter of the realme, to ſecure them for making ſtrength on the part of King *Richard:* but the people in all places as men broken with many burthens, did eaſily entertaine the firſt commer, and were not curious to ſide with the ſtrõger. The Duke purſued thoſe of the Kings priuie counſaile, which fled away from the duke of Yorke; bearing himſelfe with great cheere and courage, as confident in the cauſe, and ſecure of the euent. When he came at Briſtow he found the caſtle fortified againſt him; but in ſhort time he forced it, and tooke therein *Sir Iohn Buſhy, Sir Henrie Greene, & W. Scroupe, L. Treaſurer*, a ioyfull pray to the commõ people: who (fearing that if execution ſhould bee deferred, petitions for pardon might happen to preuaile, and ſo their cruelties and iniuries ſhould be anſwered with the vaine title and commendation of clemency) did violently require them vnto death, no reſpite could be obteyned, no defence admitted, no anſwere heard: yea their humble and ſubmiſſe intreaty was interpreted to argue a weake & broken courage vpõ a guilty conſcience, which more incenſed the rage of the people, crying out that they were traitours, bloud-ſuckers, theeues, and what other heinous tearmes inſulting fury did put into their mouthes: at which clamorous and importunant inſtance, the day following they were beheaded. Sir *William Bagot* came not with them to Briſtowe, but turned to Cheſter: and the purſuit being made after the

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moſt, he alone eſcaped into Ireland. This execution, partly becauſe it pleaſed the people, and partly becauſe it excluded all hope of the Kings pardon, cauſed them to cleaue more cloſely to the Duke; which greatly encreaſed both his glory. & his hope: hauing offers of ſo large aide, & need of ſo litle.

In the meane time this newes of the Dukes arriuall and of other occurrences, part true, part falſe, and part enlarged by circumſtance, (as fame groweth in the going) was blowne ouer to the King, being then entangled with other broyles in Ireland, at the receipt whereof, hee cauſed the ſonnes of the Duke of Glouceſter, and of the Duke of Lancaſter to be impriſoned in the ſtrong Caſtle of Trim, which is in Ireland, and for diſpatch to returne into England, left many matters vnfiniſhed, and moſt of his prouiſion behind, haſting & ſhufling vp, as preſent neceſſitie did enforce. So being both vnskilfull and vnfortunate himſelfe, & deuoide of good direction; with more haſte then good hap he tooke ſhipping, with the Duke of Aumerle, Exceter, & Surrie, the Biſhops of London, Lincolne, and Caerliele, and many other men of qualitie: and croſſing the ſeas, landed at Milford hauen in Wales, in which countrimen he alwayes repoſed his chiefeſt ſuretie and truſt, but then he ſaw contrarie to his expectatiõ, that as wel there as in all other places, the people by plumps flocked to the Duke, & fled from him: yea they that came with him began for to wauer, no man encouraging them to be conſtant, but many to reuolt. This ſuddaine chaunge not looked for, not thought vpon, diſturbed all the kings deuiſes, and made him irreſolute what hee ſhould doe: on the one ſide he ſaw his cauſe and quarrell to be right, and his conſcience (he ſaid) cleare from any bad demerite: on the other ſide hee ſaw the great ſtrength of his enemies, and the whole power of the realme bent againſt him: & being more abaſhed by the one, then emboldned by the other, he ſtoode perplexed in vncertaine termes, either where to ſtay, or whither to ſtir, hauing neither skill nor reſolution himſelfe in caſes of difficultie, and

noxious to hurtfull and vnfaithfull counſaile. Some aduiſed him to march forward, and pierce deeper into the land, before his owne forces fell from him: affirming, that valure is ſeconded by fortune: that this courage of his, would confirme the conſtancie of his ſouldiers: and his preſence put the people in remembrance of their faith: that in all places he ſhould finde ſome, who for fauour or for hire, or elſe for duetie, would adheare vnto him: whereby he ſhould ſoone gather ſtrength ſufficient to ioyne iſſue with his enemie in the fielde. Others perſwaded him to retire againe into Ireland, & then if ſuccour failed him in England, to wage ſouldiers out of other countries. But the King being no man of action in military affaires, reiected both the counſailes, as neyther venturous enough with the one, nor warie enough with the other: and taking a middle courſe (which in caſes of extremitie of all is the worſt) he determined to make ſtaye in Wales, and there to attende to what head this humour would riſe.

The Duke vpon aduertiſement that the King was landed in Wales, remoued with a ſtrong armie from Briſtowe towardes Cheſter, vſing the firſt opportunitie againſt him, and which indeed was the fitteſt. When *L. Thomas Pearcy* Earle of Worceſter and ſteward of the Kings houſhold, heard of the Dukes approach, he brake forth into ſhewe of that diſpleaſure which before he had conceiued againſt the King, for proclaiming his brother the Earle of Northumberlande traytour, and therevpon openly in the hall, in the preſence of the Kings ſeruants, he brake his white rodde, the enſigne of his office, and forth with departed to the Duke, willing euery man to ſhift for himſelfe in time: by which acte he loſt reputation, both with the haters & fauourers of King *Richard*; being accompted of the one a corrupter, of the other a forſaker and betrayer of the King. After this example, almoſt all the reſt, more fearefull then faithfull ſcattered themſelues euery one his way: and they who in the Kings flouriſhing

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time, would haue contended to bee formoſt, now in his declining eſtate equally draw backe, and like ſwallowes, forſooke that houſe in the winter of fortunes boyſterous blaſts, where they did nothing but feede & foyle in the ſummer of her ſweete ſun-ſhine. And thus betweene faint ſouldiers and falſe friends, the King was abandoned and forſaken, and left almoſt vnto himſelfe: looke on he might, but let it, hee could not, as not of force to puniſh that, which he neuer forced to preuent: his only remedy was pacience: (a cold comfort) his only reuenge was complaint: (a weake weapon) betweene which two, his bitterneſſe did in this manner breake from him.

And doe theſe alſo (ſaid he) forſake me? doth their faith & my fortune end together? wel, if I had forſaken them in time I had not beene forſaken of others, who once loued me better, and now are able to harme me more. But now I ſee the blindnes of my iudgement: I plainely ſee, that there is no friendſhip in flatterie, nor treacherie in plaine truth: and I would I had as much time to reform me this error: as I am like to haue to repent it, but they would not ſuffer me to be wiſe when I might, and now they haue made me wretched they runne from me: they could bee the cauſes, but they will not be companions of my miſeries: ſuch attendants are Crowes to a carcaſſe, which flocke together, not to defend, but to deuour it, and no ſooner haue they layd the bones bare, but ſtraight-wayes they are gone.

Thus the King hauing loſt both the feare and loue of his ſubiects, diſturbed and diſtracted in thoughts, without comfort councell or courage, remained ſtill in Wales, as a ſtranger at home, as an exile in his owne kingdome, not daring to goe to London, nor any man deſirous to come to him, ſhifting ſtill from place to place, and (as it fals out to men diſtreſſed & amazed) fearing all things, but moſt diſliking the preſent. The Duke continually purſued him with a mightie armie: but the Kings company was too ſmall to doe any thing

by force, & yet too great to remaine in ſecret: neither were they in any ſort aſſured vnto him, but ſuch as ſhame and reuerence retained a while; bands of ſmall countenance, with men fearefull of danger, & careleſſe of credit. At the length he came to the Caſtle of Conweye; and there being vtterly deſtitute both of helpe and hope, he ſtood deuided in mind what way to bend his courſe, all his followers weare more ready to impugne the opinions of other, thē to giue direction themſelues, as ſeeing better what to ſhunne then what to follow: and as it alwayes chanceth in deſperate cauſes, that way was commonly preferred, wherof the opportunitie was already paſt. Some aduiſed him, that it was tīme to think, rather of ſauing his life, then recouering his eſtate. You ſee (ſaid they) how greatly & how wholy your ſubiects are ſet againſt you: it is but in vaine to look for a ſuddaine change, or without a chaunge to hope that your purpoſes may preuaile, giue place for a time to the current of this furie; let it haue the full ſway; and when it is at the higheſt pitch, it will turne againe; and then you ſhall haue the tide as ſtrong on your ſide, as it is now againſt you. This motiō or rather commotion of the people, is violent and againſt nature: & therefore (as a ſtone forced vpward) is moſt ſtrong at the beginning, and the further it paſſeth the more it weakneth, vntil at laſt it returne to the naturall courſe againe. Therefore giue a little ſpace for the bad to draw backe, for the good to put forward: treaſons preuaile on the ſuddaine, but good counſailes gather forces by leaſure, You haue example in your noble progenitor King *Henry* the third, againſt whome the Lords ſet vp *Lewes* the French kings ſonne: conditions were concluded, and faith was made that he ſhould be their King; but this purpoſe laſted not the pulling on: for before they had poſſeſſed him of the Kingdom, they ioyned togither in armes againſt him, & were as fierce to driue him out of the realme, as they had beene found to draw him in. The like alteration may you likewiſe not onely hope, but aſſuredly expect: for

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the mindes of men are constant in nothing but inconstancie, and perseuer onely in chaunge, in dislike of things present they desire new, wherewith they rest not long contented, but are many times glutted euen with the first sight. And indeed how can they long endure the raigne of him, who attaining the kingdome onely by their fauour and might, shall hold the same in a manner, at their courtesie and will? for euerie vnpleasant commaund, shall be deemed ingratitude: euerie suit reiected, shal charge him with vnkindnesse: Yea if honor be not offered, they will be discontented: and vpon any occasion of displeasure, thinke themselues as able to displace him, as they were to set him vp: therefore you may for a time, returne againe into Ireland; or else passe the seas to your Father in lawe, the king of Fraunce: you may assure your selfe of his assistance, to set vpon your side, and recouer your losses. Times haue their turnes, and fortune her course too and fro like the sea, & magnanimitie is shewne by enduring, and not relinquishing when she doth crosse, onely loose no point of courage, and keepe your person at large: reseruing your selfe to that good hope, which neuer dieth whilst life endure.

Others, who were enemies to all counsaile, whereof themselues were not authors, perswaded the King, that the nobilitie and commons of the realme had attempted so farre, that they would rather dye, then desist; not so much for hatred to you, as for feare to themselues; hauing so deadly incensed your displeasure against them. For it is a hard matter to forgiue, and impossible to forget those iniuries and indignities which they haue offered. And to omit what some princes haue done, what all will promise to doe, they will soone find fresh and bleeding examples what you are like to doe. The Duke of Gloucester and the Earle of Arundell and of Warwicke did rise in armes against you, not to remoue you from your crowne: but to remoue certaine persons frō your companie, an action more displeasing then preiudiciall vnto you: at the last, a friendship was made, and charters of free par-

don graunted vnto them: but what followed? was euer the breach perfectly made vp? did displeasure dye? or was it only dissembled? ah, it grieueth vs to thinke, how the present want of their liues, hath fully reuenged their deathes: for if they had liued, their countenance and authority woulde easily haue staied these stirs; and the manner of their deaths doth strike an obstinate persistance into all your enemies. As for refuge to forren Princes, you shall surely receiue of them entertainment and allowance, and yet may grow burdensome, and at last perhaps faile: but it is very hard to draw any Prince into so dangerous a quarrell: and more harde by that meanes to preuaile: or if you should, it is to be feared that the victorers will hold to themselues the benefit of their conqueſt, and not yeeld it ouer vnto you. Few countries but haue bin vnder pretence of ayde by forrenners subdued: and this was the only cause which first drew the Saxons into this land: who so assisted the Britaines against their enemies, that themselues could not be resisted from possessing theyr kingdome. Yet we doe not altogether condemne the helpe of straungers, in cases of extremity; but doe account it a remedy, least to be trusted, and last of all to bee tried. What then if first you should procure a treaty, to see in what terms the people stand against you? It may be that vpon some conditions they will submit themselues vnto you, as heretofore they haue done. Or if they will needs deforce you from your kingdome, yet if an honourable maintenance may bee assured, what shall you lose thereby? What shall you lack? You haue no childe to be disinherited; the chiefest motiue which maketh men so greedy to get, and so carefull to keepe. And as for your selfe, you shall be remoued from a steepe & slippery hill, to a smooth and pleasant plaine; from tempestuous seas, to a calme hauen; from daungerous trauaile to secure rest: & if there be no solace without safety, no felicity without firmnesse; you shall finde the priuate life not only more sweete, but more high and happy then your princely state.

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The talleſt trees are weakeſt in the toppes; in wideſt fieldes are greateſt tempeſts; and enuy alwaies aimeth at loftieſt marks: ſo that to be placed on high, is a falſe felicity, and a true miſery; in ſhew a rule, but indeed a ſubiection to all the ſubiects; hauing leaſt ſtay to ſtand, and moſt danger in the fall: and therefore if you come downe ſafely, you are therein priuiledged aboue many other. But you ſhal loſe (you will ſay) the credit & the countenance of a King: ſo you ſhal the cares; and ſo you ſhall the caſualties. The crown & ſceptar are things moſt weighty to weld: if a Prince be good, he is laden with labour; if euill, with infamy and reproch: if either with perils: on euery ſide he is beſet with dangerous rocks, with deadly gulfes, & continually toſſed with ſtrong and ſturdie tempeſts: ſo that to be freed frō theſe feares, is to be eſteemed an eſcape, and not a loſſe. This did the ſtoick Philoſopher perceiue, who ſeeing *Dionyſius* ſit, merily & freely conceited in the theater, beeing a little before expelled his kingdom; greatly condemned the error of his people who had baniſhed him to ſuch liberty, & ſo preferred him by his puniſhment. Theſe are the dreames of Philoſophers (you will ſay) who vſually depraue and contemne honor, & yet neuer lie from honourable mens tables. Let paſſe then Philoſophers: go to vaine and ſottiſh men. *Seleuchus* being a king was wont to ſay, that if a man knew with what cares the diadē was clogged, he would not take it vp, although it lay in the ſtreet. You will ſay peraduenture, that like the boatman, he looked one way, and pulled another; or like the lapwing, he cried moſt whē he was furtheſt from his neſt, vainly diſpraiſing that which he was loatheſt to looſe. What ſay you then to *Antiochus*? whome when the Romanes had diſpoiled of al Aſia, he ſent vnto them great thanks, that they had rid him of infinite & importable cares, and ſet him at a moderate quiet: you will ſay that hee made a vertue of his neceſſity. Well then, we are ſomewhat neere your cace: & they that cannot frame their wils to this wiſedome, let them thanke their enimies for enforeing them to it. But what ſay you to *Dioclesian*? who did voluntarily relinquiſht, not a ſmall and corner kingdōe, but the greateſt empire that the world did euer beare

and found ſo ſweet contentmẽt in that exchange, that when he was importuned by the ſenate, to reſume his eſtate, hee vtterly reiected their ſuite. But what need we trauell in externe hiſtories for thoſe examples, whereof we haue ſo large ſupply in our owne? the ancient Saxon Kings; *Kingilſus, Ina, Ceolulphus, Eadbertus, Ethelredus, Kẽredus, Offa, Sebbi, & Sigebertus* did of their owne accord laye downe their diadems and ſcepters, and betake themſelues to ſolitary & religious liues. Now many Princes haue held their eſtate with better fortune, but none did euer with greater honor leaue it, then you ſhould at this preſent: for others haue abãdoned their rule, either for deſire of eaſe, or for auoidance of dangers, or vpon ſome ſluggiſh or ſuperſtitious deuotiõ: but you for loue to your country, ſhal forbeare to ſeek your vttermoſt remedy, in ſetting vp a moſt cruel war: wherein much Engliſh bloud ſhoũld be ſpilt, and the Realme depriued of many worthy armies. Let others be reported to forſake their kingdoms, when they had no longer pleaſure to hold thẽ: but your praiſe ſhall be for giuing ouer, when it is greateſt benefit vnto the people; and the more hope you haue to preuaile, if you liſt to contend, the greater commendations will it bee to yeeld, as being rather voluntary then by conſtraint.

The king cõmended the courage of the firſt, but this laſt coũſell beſt agreed with his faint and feeble ſpirit, more yeelding to feare then forward in hope; apt by the one to deſpaire, vnable by the other to hold out in any hard aduenture, preferring alwayes abiect and baſe ſafety, before hazard with honour. Yet were many ready to reply, that al ſpeech of conditions & yeelding was both diſhonorable, and alſo dangerous: for euen in hardeſt haps, ſaid they, a noble nature wil not preſently relinquiſh, but firſt endeuor either by courage to repell the danger, or by wiſdõme to decline it: and why ſhould you ſo little eſteem your glory and fame, as without battel, or blow ſtriken to bind your hands, & yeeld vp your weapons, and put your ſelfe vpon miſerable mercy: or if the honor of your noble houſe doth nothing moue you, yet let danger and deſpaire at leaſt arme you to boldneſſe; for neither the duke nor his friends will be ſo confident

as

as to thinke themſelues ſafe, ſo long as you ſhall remaine (although in priuate ſtate) aliue. Indeed you may aſſure your ſelfe that fare words wil be giuen, & large offers made: but the performance ſhal cõſiſt in the courteſie of the conqueror: and nothing will be thought vnlawfull to him that hath power. King *Edward* the ſecond was too heauy to be indured, euẽ of his own ſonne: and many haue vſed violence to themſelues, rather then they would fall into the power of their concurrents: and do not you expect more fauor or greater fortune then other haue foũd: ler neuer that ſenceleſnes poſſeſſe your mind, to imagine that a prince may liue ſafely in priuate eſtate: for in this caſe there is no meane betweene *Cæſar* and nothing, betweene the higheſt honor and the deadlieſt downefall. Therfore omit neither al nor any one meanes vnaſſayed, to maintaine your fide by armes: no greater harme can happen at the hardeſt, then that which willingly you run into: you can but die if you be vanquiſhed, & die you ſhal if you do yeeld: but by the one you ſhall end your life with glory, by the other with ſhame and perpetual reproch. And although you do now eſteeme equally of both, yet when you ſhall ſee your ſelfe pent in priſon; in dayly feare and expectancie of a bloudy meſſenger; you ſhall then perceiue a difference in death, and find the weakneſſe and fault of the councell which you are about to follow. Many like ſpeeches were with great vehemẽcy often repeated, but the Kings eares were ſtopped againſt al impreſſion of manhood: and as he was vnable to gouerne himſelfe in his proſperous eſtate, ſo was he much leſſe ſufficient to wind out of theſe intricate troubles. Therefore perceiuing himſelfe ſo ſtraitly beſet, that he could hardly either eſcape away, or ſhift any longer, he deſired ſpeech with *Tho. Arundel* archbiſh. of Cant. & L. *Hen. Pearcy* earle of Northumb. of whom, the one he had baniſhed, the other he had proclaimed traitor not long before. Theſe two came vnto him, and the king vpon ſhort conference, vnderſtanding what ſtiffe ſtomacks they bare againſt him, was cõtent not to demand that which he ſaw he could not obtaine: & thereupon agreed that he would relinquiſh his eſtate, vpon condition that an honorable liuing might

be aſſined him, & life promiſed to 8. ſuch perſons as hee would name: the greateſt number whom aduerſity did not alter. This was then both readily and faithfully promiſed by the Archbiſh. and the earle, & afterward ſolemnely ratified by the Duke. The king ceaſed not to intreat ſubmiſly, & promiſe largely, and (as the nature is of men perplexed with feare) aboue his ability, & without meaſure, the earle encouraged him, and declared that the Duke before he had obtained any ayde, ſecured by his oath the ſafetie of the Kings perſon. Then the King deſired to talke with the duke, which was likewiſe promiſed; & ſo the archbiſh. & the earle departed, & the king remoued to the Caſtle of Flint, about 8. miles diſtant from Cheſter, to which place the Duke came to him. Here the coũtenances & words of both were noted, by them that were preſent; the King ſeemed abiect & baſe: the duke neither inſulting nor relenting, but comforting and promiſing friendly. The king repeated many benefits and kindneſſes that he had ſhewed: how in former time he had ſpared the dukes owne life, and lately his ſonnes: in regard whereof he deſired him, with ſuch ſubmiſnes as was agreeable rather with his neceſsity then his honour: that he would ſhew ſome pitie, where he had receiued ſuch pleaſure: and permit him to enioy his life, with ſuch priuate maintenance as was cõuenient for his eſtate. The duke put him in good comfort, promiſing him aſſuredly, that he would prouide for his ſafetie: for which he ſuffered himſelfe to be ſolemnly thanked, and thought it not much to haue it accounted a great benefit. Indeed from that time the king was kept ſafe and ſure enough, from binding any of the dukes purpoſes, neither could it ſo eaſily haue beene diſcerned what had bene beſt for him to do, as that this which he did was the very worſt: for the ſame night he was brought by the duke and his army to Cheſter, and from thence ſecretly conueyed to the Tower of London, there to be kept ſafe vntill the Parliament, which was appointed ſhortly after to be holden.

Thus the King yeelded himſelfe: the 20. day of Auguſt, being the 47. day after the Dukes arriuall: ſo that his iourneyes conſidered, from Houlderneſſe in the North to London: from thence

thence to Briſtowe, & ſo into Wales, and backe againe to Cheſter: a man ſhall not eaſily trauaile ouer the land in ſhorter time then he conquered it. So friendly was fortune vnto him, that he eyther found or made a ready paſſage through all hinderances and lets: & it ſeemed that he needed onely, to open his armes, to meete and receiue her, as ſhe offered her ſelfe vnto him. All the Kings treaſure & Iewels, with his horſes, and al his ſardage came to the Dukes hands; and many that were in his companie, were afterwards alſo deſpoyled by the ſouldiers of Northumberland and Wales.

Some writers affirme, that the King did not yeeld himſelfe, but was forelaied & taken, as he was ſecretly paſſing frō Flint to Cheſter: but the authority of others who liued in that time, eyther in the plaine viewe, or certaine intelligence of theſe affaires, who for their place could not but knowe, and for their profeſſiō would not but deliuer the very truth, hath drawn me to follow their report: which I find alſo receiued by ſome late wrighters, of as great deapth in iudgement and choyce, as any (without exception) that this age hath brought forth.

As the King was carrid towards London, certaine citizens conſpired to lay themſelues in a wait by the way, and ſodainly to ſlay him; partly for priuate grieuances, & partly for the cruelty that he had vſed towards the whole city: but the Maior vpon intelligence preuented the practice, and rode forth in perſon with a cōuenient company, to conduct him ſafely vnto the tower. Shortly after the duke came to Londō in ſolemn eſtate, and ſent forth ſummons in the Kings name, for a Parlament to be holden at Weſtminſter, the laſt day of Septēber in the ſame yeare: in the meane time he deliberated with his kindred and kind friends, cōcerning the order of his poceedings. The duke of Yorke (who a little before had bene gouernour of the realm for the King & thē was the chiefeſt directer of the duke) thoght it beſt that *K. Richard* ſhould both voluntarily reſigne, & alſo ſolemnly be depoſed, by conſent of all the ſtates of the realme: for reſignation only would be imputed to feare, and depriuation to force; wherof the one is alwaies pitied, and the other enuied;

uied: but if both concurre, and his desire be combined with his desart, being willing to forsake that which he is adiudged worthy to forgo; then shall it appeare, that he neither is expelled his kingdom by meere constraint, nor leaueth it without iust cause This aduice pleased the rest, and for executing therof vpon the day of S. Michaell (which was the day before the Parlament should begin) there assembled at the Tower. *Thomas Arundell* archbish. of Canterbury, *Richard Scroupe* archbish. of Yorke, *John* bishop of Hereford, *Henry* duke of Lancaster, *Henry* earle of Northumberland, *Radulph* earle of Westmerland, L. *Hugh Burnell*, L. *Thomas Berkly*, L. *Rose*, L. *Willoughby*, L. *Abergeiny*. The Abbat of Westminster, the Priour of Canterbury, *William Thirminges*, and *John Makeham*, Chiefe Iustices, *Thomas Stoke*, and *Iohn Burbacke*. Doctours of Law, *T. Herpingham*, and *T. Gray* knights, *W. Ferby*, and *Dionise Lopham* publike Notaries, and diuers others either not noted, or not remembred. When all were set in their places, King *Richard* was brought foorth, apparelled in his royall robe, the diademe on his head, and the scepter in his hand; and was placed amongst them in a chaire of estate. Neuer was Prince so gorgeous, with lesse glory and greater griefe: to whom it was not disgrace sufficient, to lose both the honour and ornaments of a king, but he must openly to his greater scorne, renounce the one, and deliuer the other. After a little pause and expectation, the King arose from his seat, and spake to the assembly these words, or the very like in effect.

I assure my selfe that some at this present, and many hereafter, will accompt my case lamentable; either that I haue deserued this deiection, if it be iust; or if it be wrongfull, that I could not auoide it. Indeed I doe confesse, that many times I haue shewed my selfe both lesse prouident, and lesse painfull for the benefite of the cnmmon-wealth, then I should, or might; or intended to doe hereafter; and haue in many actions more respected the satisfying of my owne particular humour, then either iustice to some priuate persons, or the common good of al, yet I did not at any time, either o mit dutie or commit grieuance

vpon

vpon naturall dulneſſe or ſet malice; but partly by abuſe of corrupt councellors, partly by errour of my youthfull iudgement. And now the remembrance of theſe ouer-ſights, is ſo vnpleaſant to no man, as to my ſelfe; and the rather becauſe I haue no meanes left, either to recompence the iniuries which I haue done, or to teſtifie to the world my reformed affections, which experience and ſlayedneſſe of yeares had already corrected, aud would dayly haue framed to more perfection. But whether all the imputations wherewith I am charged be true, either in ſubſtance, or in ſuch qualitie as they are laid; or whether being true, they be ſo heinous, as to enforce theſe extremities, or whether any other Prince, eſpecially in the heate of youth, and in the ſpace of two and twentie yeares (the time of my vnfortunate raigne) doth, not ſometimes either for aduantage, or vpon diſpleaſure, in as deepe manner grieue ſome particular ſubiect; I will not now examine: it helpeth not to vſe defence, neither booteth it to make complaint: there is left no place for the one, nor pittie for the other: and therefore I referre it to the iudgement of God, and your leſſe diſtempered conſiderations.

I accuſe no man, I blame no fortune, I complaine of nothing: I haue no pleaſure in ſuch vaine and needleſſe comforts; and if I liſted to haue ſtood vpon termes, I know I haue great fauourers abroad; and ſome friends (I hope) at home, who would haue beene ready, yea forward on my behalfe, to ſet vp a bloudy and doubtfull warre: but I eſteeme not my dignitie at ſo high a prize, as the hazard of ſo greate valure, the ſpilling of ſo much Engliſh bloud, and the ſpoile and waſte of ſo flouriſhing a Realme, as thereby might haue beene occaſioned. Therefore that the Common-wealth may rather riſe by my fall, then I ſtand by the ruine thereof, I willingly yeeld to your deſires, and am heere come to diſpoſſeſſe my ſelfe of all publike authoritie and title, and to make it free and lawfull for you to create for your King, *Henrie* Duke of Lancaſter my couſin germaine, whom I know to be as worthy to

take that place, as I ſee you willing to giue it to him.

Then he read openly and diſtinctly the forme of his ceſſion, wherein hee did declare, that hee had diſcharged his ſubiects, from their oathes of fealty and homage, and all other oathes whatſoeuer; and of his owne will & free motion, did abdicate, the title, dignitie, and authoritie of a King: and rendred vp the poſſeſſion of the Realme, with the vſe and title thereof, and all the rights therunto appertaining. To this the King ſubſcribed and was ſworne: and then hee deliuered with his owne hands the Crowne, the Scepter, and the Robe to the Duke of Lancaſter; wiſhing vnto him more happineſſe therewith, then had euer happened vnto himſelfe. Then he did conſtitute the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Biſhop of Hereford his procurators, to intimate and declare this his reſignation to all the ſtates of the realme, which ſhould be aſſembled together in Parliament Laſtly, he gaue all his riches and goods, to the ſumme of three hundred thouſand pounds in coyne, beſides his Iewels & plate, for ſatisfaction of the iniuries that hee had done; deſiring the Duke, & al the reſt that were preſent ſeuerally by their names not altogether to forget that he had beene their King, nor yet too much to thinke vpon the ſame; but to retaine of him a moderate remembrance; and in recompence of the eaſe that hee had done them by his voluntary yeelding, to permit him to liue ſafely, in a priuate ond obſcure life: with the ſweetneſſe wherof he was ſo poſſeſſed, that frō thenceforth he would preferre it, before any preferment in the world. All this was deliuered and done by the King, with voyce and countenance ſo agreeable to his preſent heauineſſe, that there was no man too vnmindefull of humane inſtabilitie, which was not in ſome meaſure moued thereat: inſomuch as a fewe ſecret teares melted from the eyes of many that were preſent, in whoſe mindes a confuſed and obſcure alteration alreadie ganne to beginne. So prone and inclinable are men to pitie miſerie, although they haue procured it, and to enuie proſperitie, euen that which they haue rayſed.

Vpon

Vpon Munday next following the Parlament began at Westminster; and the Archbishop of Yorke and the Bishop of Hereford (the Kings Atturneyes for this purpose) declared openly to the states there assembled, the Kings voluntary resignation; and demaunded whether they would assent and agree therevnto? the Barons of the realme by seuerall and particular consent, the commons with one generall voyce, did expresly accept and admit the same. Then it was thought meet that certaine defects and misdemeanures concerning matters of gouernment, should be obiected against the King: for which he should be adiudged as vnworthy, as he seemed vnwilling to reteine the kingdome. To this purpose certaine articles were engrossed, and openly read: in which was conteyned, how vnprofitable the King had been to the realme; how vniust and grieuous to the subiectes; contrarie both to his honour, and to his oath. The chiefest of which articles are these that follow.

1 FIrst that King *Richard* did wastefully spend the treasure of the realme, and had giuen the possession of the crowne, to men vnworthy, by reason whereof, new charges were dayly laide on the neckes of the poore comminaltie.

2 Item, where diuers Lords as well spirituall as temporall, were appointed by the high court of Parlament, to commune and treate of matters concerning the state of the realme, and the common wealth of the same, they being busied about tht same commission, he with others of his affinitie went about to impeache them of treason.

3 Item, that by force and menace, he compelled the Iustices of the realme at Shrewsburie to condiscend to his opinion for the destruction of the said Lords: Insomuch as he began to raise warre, against *Iohn* Duke of Lancaster, *Thomas* Earle of Arundell, *Richard* Earle of Warwicke, & other Lords contrarie to his honor and promise.

4 Item, that he caused his vnckle the Duke of Glouce-

ster to be arrested without lawe, and sent him to Calice, and there without iudgement murthered him: and although the Earle of Arundell vpon his arraignment, pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in most vile and shametull manner sodainly put to death.

5 Item, he assembled certaine Lancashire and Cheshire men, to the intent to make warre on the aforesaid Lords, and suffered them to robbe and spoile, without correction and reproofe.

6 Item, that although the king flatteringly and with great dissimulation, made proclamation throughout the realme, that the Lords aforenamed were not attached for any crime of treason, but onely for extortions and oppressions doone within the realme, yet he laide to them in the Parlament rebellion and manifest treason.

7 Item, he hath compelled diuers of the said Lords seruants by menace, to make great fines & extreme payments: to their vtter vndooing: and notwithstanding his pardon to them graunted, he made them fine a new.

8 Item, where diuers were appointed to common of the estate of the realme, and the common wealth of the same, the king caused al the roules & records to be kept frō them, contrary to his promise made in parlament, to his opē dishonor.

9 Item, he vncharitably commaunded that noman vpon paine of losse of life and goods, should once entreate him for the returne of *Henrie* now duke of Lancaster.

10 Item, where the realme is houlden of God and not of the Pope, or any other Prince, the said King *Richard*, after he had obteyned diuers acts of Parlament, for his owne peculiar profit and pleasure, then he procured Bulles and extreme censures from Rome, to compell all men streightly to keepe the same, contrary to the honour and auncient priuiledges of this realme.

11 Item, although the Duke of Lancaster had done his deuoyre against *Thomas* Duke of Northfolke, in proofe of his

his quarrell yet the said King without reason or ground, banished him the realme for ten yeeres, contrarie to all equitie.

12 Item, before the Dukes departure, he vnder his broad Seale, licenced him to make atturneys, to prosecute and defend his causes: the said King after his departure would suffer none atturney to appeare for him, but did with his at his pleasure.

13 Item, the said King put out diuers Shiriffes lawfully elected, and put in their roomes diuers other of his owne minions, subuerting the lawe, contrarie to his oath and honour.

14 Item, he borrowed great summes of money, and bound himselfe vnder his letters patents for the repayment of the same, and yet not one peny paide.

15 Item, he taxed men at the will of him and his vnhappie counsaile, and the same treasure spent in folly, not paying poore men for their vittaile and viand.

16 Item, he said that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and sometimes in his breast: by reason of which phantasticall opinion, he destroyed noblemen, and impouerished the poore commons.

17 Item, the parlament setting and enacting diuers notable statutes, for the profit and aduancement of the common wealth, he by his priuie friends and solicitours, caused to be enacted, that no acte then enacted should be more preiudicial to him, then it was to his predecessors: thorow which *prouiso*, he did often as he list, and not as the lawe ment.

18 Item, for to serue his purpose, he would suffer the Shiriffes of the shires, to remaine aboue one yeare or two in their office.

19 Item, at the summons of parlament, when the Knights and Burgesses should be elect, and the election had fully proceeded, he put out diuers persons elected, and put in others in their places, to serue his will and appetite.

20 Item, he had priuie espials in euery shire, to heare

who had of him any communication, and if he communed of his lasciuious liuing, and outragious dooing, he straightwayes was apprehended, and made a grieuous fine.

21 Item, the spiritualtie alledged against him, that he at his going into Ireland, exacted many notable summes of money, beside Plate and Iewels, without lawe or custome, contrary to his oath taken at his coronation.

22 Item, when diuers Lordes and Iustices were sworne to say the trueth, of diuers things to them committed in charge, both for the honour of the realme, and profit of the king, the said king so menaced them with sore threatnings, that no man would or durst say the right.

23 Item, that without the assent of the Nobilitie, he caryed the Iewels and Plate, and treasure, ouer the sea into Ireland; to the great impouerishing of the realme; and all the good records of the common wealth against his extortions, he caused priuily to be embeaseled and carryed away.

24 Item, in all leagues and letters to be concluded and sent to the sea of Rome and other regions, his writing was so subtill and darke, that no other Prince durst once beleeue him, nor yet his owne subiects.

25 Item, he most tyranously and vnprincely said, that the liues and goods of all his subiects, were in the Princes hands, and at his dispositon.

26 Item, that he contrarie to the great Charter of England, caused diuers lustie men to appeale diuers olde men, vpon matters determinable at the common law, in the court Marciall, because that in that court is no tryall but onely by battaile: whereby the said aged persons fearing the sequell of the matter, submitted themselues to his mercie, whom he fined and ransomed vnreasonably at his pleasure.

27 Item, he craftily deuised certaine priuie oathes, contrary to lawe, and caused diuers of his subiects, first to be sworne to obserue the same, and after bound them in bands for surer keeping the same, to the great vndooing of many

honest

honeſt men.

28 Item, where the Chancellour according to lawe, would in no wiſe graunt a prohibition to a certaine perſon, the King graunted it vnto the ſame perſon vnder his priuie ſeale, with great threatnings if it ſhould be diſobeyed.

29 Item, he baniſhed the Biſhop of Canterburie, without cauſe or iudgement, and kept him in the Parlament Chamber with men of armes.

30 Item, the biſhops goods he graunted to his ſucceſſor, vpon condition that he ſhould maintaine all his ſtatutes made at Shrewsburie, Anno 21. and the ſtatutes made, Anno 22. at Couentree.

31 Item, vpon the accuſation of the Archbiſhop, the king craftily perſwaded the ſaid Biſhop to make no anſwer, for he would be his warrant, and aduiſed him not to come to the Parlament; and ſo without anſwere he was condemned and exiled, and his goods ſeazed. Foure other Articles were laide, which particularlie did concerne the ſaid Archbiſhop, by whoſe dooing chiefly the King was vtterly vndone.

Then was demaunded of the Nobilitie and commons of the realme, what they iudged both of the trueth and deſert of theſe articles? who all agreed that the crimes were notorious, and that king *Richard* was worthie for the ſame to be depoſed from his princely dignitie. The noble men gaue their voyces, part corrupted by fauour, part awed by feare: and the commons are commonly like a flocke of Cranes, as one dooth flye all will follow. Herevpon Commiſſioners were appointed by both the houſes; who pronounced ſentence of depoſition againſt king *Richard*, in manner and forme as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen. We Iohn *Biſhop of S. Aſſes, I. Abbote of Glaſtenburie,* Thom. *Earle of Glouceſter,* Thom. *Lord Berkley,* Thom. Erpinghame, Thom. Graye *Knights:* Will. Thirninge *Iuſtice, Commiſſioners for the matters here-*

after ſpecified, by the Lords ſpirituall & temporall of the realme of England, and the Commons of the ſaid realme, repreſenting all the ſtates of the ſaide Kingdome, ſpecially deputed, ſitting in ſeate of iudgement, and conſidering the manifold iniuries, and cruelties, and many other crimes and offences by Richard late King of the ſaide realme, committed and doone, contrarie to good gouernment, in the realmes and dominions aforeſaide, during the time of his raigne: alſo conſidering the articles which were openly exhibited and red before the ſaid ſtates, which were ſo publicke, notorious, manifeſt, and famous, that they could nor can by no aueydance and ſhift be concealed: alſo conſidering the confeſſion of the ſaide King, acknowledging and reputing and truly vpon his certaine knowledge iudging himſelfe to haue been and to be altogether inſufficient and vnskilfull, for the rule and gouernment of the realmes and Dominions aforeſaid, and of any parts of them, and not vnworthy to be depoſed, for the notorious demerites, by the ſaid Richard firſt acknowledged, and afterward by his will and mandate, before the ſaid ſtates publiſhed, and to them opened and declared in the Engliſh tongue. Vpon theſe and other matters which were done concerning the ſame buſines, before the ſaid States and vs, by the diligent place, name and authority to vs in this part committed, in abundance and for a cautele we pronounce, decree and declare, the ſaide Richard, to haue beene and to be vnprofitable and vnable, and altogether inſufficient and vnworthie for the rule and gouernement of the ſaid realmes, and of the dominions, rights and parts of them: and in regarde and reſpect of the premiſes, worthily to be depoſed from all kingly dignitie and honour (if any ſuch dignitie and honour remaineth in him) and for the like cautele we doe depoſe him by our ſentence diffinitiue, in this writing: inhibiting from henceforth expreſſely, all and ſingular Lords, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelates, Dukes, Marqueſſes and Earles, Barons, Knights, Vaſſalles, and all other perſons whatſoener, of the ſaid realmes and dominions, and other places to the ſaid realmes and dominions appertaining, the ſubiectes and liege people of the ſame, and euery of them, that from henceforth none obey, or intend

tend to obey the aforesaid Richard, as king or Lord of the realmes and dominions aforesaid.

Then the same Commissioners were by the consent and suffrages of both houses, constituted procurators, ioyntlye and seuerally for all the states of the realme; to resigne and surrender vnto King *Richard*, for them and all other homages of the realme, all the homages and fealties which were both due and doone vnto him, as King and Soueraigne, and also to declare vnto him al the premises, concerning his deposition. Now *Henrie* Duke of Lancaster, that he might be reputed, or reported at the least, not to attaine the kingdom by intrusion and wrong, was counsailed by his friends, to pretend some lawfull challenge and claime therevnto: and being in power, it was no sooner aduised what was to bee doone, but it was presently deuised how to doe it. So a title was drawne from *Edmund*, sonne to King *Henrie* the third, whom they surnamed Crouch-backe: affirming that he was the eldest sonne of King *Henrie*, and that for his deformitie, he was put from his right of succession in the kingdome; which was for that cause giuen to his younger brother, King *Edward* the third: to this *Edmund* the Duke was next of bloud by his mother *Blanche*, sole daughter and heyre to *Henrie* the first Duke of Lancaster, and sonne to the said *Edmund*. This cunning conceit was perceiued of all men, but seeming not to perceiue it, was a point of friendship in some, & of obedience in the rest: therefore the kingdome of England being then thought vacant, both by the resignation, and also by the deposition of King *Richard*: Duke *Henrie* arose from his seate, and standing in the view of the Lords, crossed himselfe on the forehead, and on the breast, and spake as followeth.

In the name of God Amen: I Henrie *of Lancaster, claime the realme of England, & the crowne, with all the appurtenances as I that am descended by right line of the bloud royall, comming from that good Lord K.* Henrie *the third, & through the right*

that

that God of his grace hath ſent mee, with the helpe of my kindred and of my friendes, to recouer the ſame: Which kingdome was in point to be vndoone, for default of good gouernment and due iuſtice.

After theſe wordes, it was demaunded in both houſes, of the Nobility & of the commons which were aſſembled, whether they did conſent that the Duke ſhould raigne? Who all with one voyce, acknowledged and accepted him for their King: then the Archbiſhop of Canterbury tooke him by the hand, and placed him in the throane of eſtate, the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke aſſiſting him, and all the aſſemblie teſtifying their owne ioy, and wiſhing his. Then the Archbiſhop made an oration, and tooke for his theame, this place of Scripture: *See, this is the man Whom I ſpake to thee of, this ſame ſhall raigne ouer my people*, 1. Reg. 9. 17. After all this he was proclamed King of England, and of Fraunce, and Lord of Ireland: and the common people which is voide of cares, not ſearching into ſequels, but without difference of right or wrong inclinable to follow thoſe that are mighty, with ſhoutes and clamours gaue their applauſe, not all vpon iudgement, or faithfull meaning, but moſt onely vpon a receiued cuſtome to flatter the Prince whatſoeuer he be. Yet leaſt the heate of this humour ſhould allay by delay, it was foorthwith proclamed in the great Hall, that vpon the 13. day of September next enſuing, the Coronation of the King ſhould be celebrated at Weſtminſter. Theſe matters being thus diſpatched, the King proclamed, aroſe from his ſeate, and went to White Hall: where he ſpent the reſt of the day in royall feaſting, and all other complements of ioy: notwithſtanding there appeared in him no token of ſtatelyneſſe or pride, nor any change in ſo great a change.

Vpon Wedneſday next following, the procurators, before mentioned, went to the preſence of King Richard, being within the Tower; and declared vnto him the admiſſion of his reſignation, and alſo the order and forme of his depoſition:

ſition: and in the name of all the ſtates of the realme, did ſurrender the homage and fealty which had beene due vnto him; ſo that no man from thence foorth would beare to him faith and obedience, as to their King. The King anſwered that he nothing reguarded theſe titular circumſtances, but contented himſelfe with hope, that his couſen would be a gracious Lord, and good friend vnto him.

So vpon the 13. day of October, which was the day of the tranſlation of Edward the Confeſſour, the Duke was with all accuſtomed ſolemnities, by the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury, ſacred, annointed and Crowned King at Weſtminſter, by the name of King *Henry* the fourth: vpon the very ſame day, wherein the yeere before he had beene baniſhed the Realme. Hee was annoynted with an oyle, which a certaine religious man gaue vnto *Henry* the firſt Duke of Lancaſter (Grandfather to the King by the mothers ſide) when hee ſerued in the warres of King *Edward* the third, beyond the ſeas; together with this Propheſie; that the Kinges which ſhould bee annoynted therewith, ſhould bee the champions of the Church. Duke *Henry* deliuered this oyle in a golden violl to Prince *Edward*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edward* the third; who locked vp the ſame in a barred cheſt within the Tower, with intent to be annoynted therewith, when hee ſhould bee crowned King: but the Prince dying before his Father, it remained there, eyther not remembred, or not regarded, vntill this preſent yeere; wherein the King, being vpon his voyage into Ireland, and making diligent ſearch for the iewels and monumentes of his progenitours, found this Violl and Propheſie: and vnderſtanding the ſecret, was deſirous to bee anoynted againe with that oyle: but the Archbiſhop of Canterburie perſwaded him, that both the fact was vnlawfull, and the precedent vnſeene, that a King ſhould be anoynted twice: whereupon he brake of that purpoſe, and tooke the Violl with him into Ireland: and

when hee yeelded himselfe at Flint, the Archbishoppe of Canterburye demaunded it of him agayne and dyd receaue and reserue the same, vntill the coronation of King *Henrie*; who was the first King of this realme, that was anoynted therewith.

I am not purposed to discourse, eyther of the authoritye, or of the certaintye of these prophesies: but wee may easily obserue, that the greatest part of them, eyther altogether fayled, or were fulfiled in another sence, then as they were commonly construed and taken. During the raigne of King *Heurie* the fourth, execution by fire was first put in practise within this Realme, for controuersies in pointes of religion: in any other extraordinarye matter, hee did as much make the Church champion, as shew himselfe a champion of the Church: but afterwardes his succeslours were intituled *Defenders of the fayth*: and howe in action they veryfied the same, I referre to remembraunce and report of later times.

Now it had beene considered, that the tytle which was deriued to King *Henrie*, from *Edmund*, whome they surnamed Crouchbacke, would bee taken but for a blynde and idle iest: for that it was notorious that the sayd *Edmund* was neyther eldest sonne to King *Henry* the thyrd (as it was plainely declared by an acte of Parlament) nor yet a misshapen and deformed person: but a goodly Gentleman, and valiaunt commaunder in the field, and so fauoured of the King his Father, that hee gaue him both the heritages and honours of *Simone Mountfort* Earle of Leiceller, of *Ferrare* Earle of Darby, and of *Iohn* Baron of Monmuthe, who to theyr owne ruine and destruction, had displaied seditious ensignes against the King. And further to aduance him to the marriage of *Blanch* Queene of Nauerne, he created him the first Earle of Lancaster, and gaue vnto him the coun-

ty Caſtle, and towne of Lancaſter, with the Forreſtes of Wireſdale, Lounſdale, Newcaſtle beneath Linne, the Manner, Caſtle and Forreſt of Pickering, the Manner of Scaleby, the towne of Gomeceſter, of Huntendone, &c. with many large priuiledges, and high titles of honour.

Therefore King *Henry* vpon the day of his Coronation, cauſed to be proclaimed, that he claimed the Kingdome of England, firſt by right of conqueſt: Secondly, becauſe King *Richard* had reſigned his eſtate, and deſigned him for his ſucceſſour: Laſtly, becauſe he was of the bloud royall, and next heyre male vnto King *Richard*.

Hæres malus indeed (quoth *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of March vnto his ſecret friends) and ſo is the Pirate to the Marchant, when hee deſpoyleth him of all that hee hath. This *Edmund* was ſonne to *Roger Mortimer* who was not long before ſlaine in Ireland, and had beene openly declared heyre apparent to the Crowne, in caſe King *Richard* ſhould dye without iſſue; as deſcended by his Mother *Philip*, from Lionell Duke of Clarence, who was elder brother to *John* Duke of Lancaſter, King *Henries* Father: and therfore the ſaid *Edmund* thought himſelfe, and in deed was, neerer heyre male to the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, then he that by colour of right, clayming it, carried it by dynt of force.

But ſuch was the condition of the time, that hee ſuppoſed it was vaine, for him to ſtirre, where King *Richard* could not ſtand: Wherevpon he diſſembled, eyther that hee ſaw his wrong, or that hee regarded it; and choſe rather to ſuppreſſe his title for a time, then by vntimely oppoſing himſelfe, to haue it oppreſſed and depreſſed for euer: to this ende he withdrewe himſelfe farre from London, to his Lordſhippe of Wigmore, in the Weſt partes of the realme, and there ſetled himſelfe to a priuate and cloſe life: Idlenes and vacancy from publike affayres, he accompted a vertue, and a deepe point of wiſedome to meddle with

nothing, whereof no man was chargeable to yeeld a reckoning. In reuenues he was meane, in apparell moderate, in company and traine not exceſſiue, (yet in all theſe honourable and according to his degree) ſo that they which eſteemed men by outward appearance only, could ſee in him no great ſhew, eyther of wit and courage in his minde to bee feared, or of wealth and honour in his eſtate to be enuyed. And thus whileſt a greater enemie was feared, he paſſed vnregarded; making himſelfe ſafe by contempt, where nothing was ſo dangerous as a good opinion: and taking vp thoſe coales in obſcuritie for a time, which ſhortly after ſet all the realme on fire

King *Henrie* preſently after his coronation, created his eldeſt ſonne Lord *Henrie*, being then about xiii. yeares of age, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewall, and Earle of Cheſter, and ſoone after he created him alſo Duke of Aquitaine. Afterwardes it was enacted, by conſent of all the ſtates of the realme, aſſembled together in the Parlament, that the inheritance of the Crownes and Realmes of England and of Fraunce, and of all the dominions to them appertaining, ſhould be vnited and remaine in the perſon of King *Henrie*, and in the heires of his body lawfully begotten: and that Prince *Henrie* his eldeſt ſonne, ſhould bee his heyre apparant, and ſucceſſour in the premiſſes: and if he ſhould dye without lawfull iſſue, then they were entayled to his other ſonnes ſucceſſiuely in order, and to the heyres of their bodyes lawfully begotten.

The inheritance of the Kingdome being in this ſorte ſettled in King *Henrie* and in his line, it was mooued in the Parliament what ſhould be done with King *Richard*. The Biſhop of Caerliel, who was a man learned and wiſe, and one that alwayes vſed both libertie and conſtancie in a good cauſe; in his ſecret iudgement did neuer giue allowance to theſe proceedings: yet deſſembled his diſlike vntill he might to ſome purpoſe declare it: therefore now being

in

in place to be heard of all, and by order of the house) to be interrupted by none, hee rose vp and with a bold and present spirit, vttered his mind as followeth.

This question (right honourable Lordes) concerneth a matter of great consequence and weight: the determining whereof will assuredly procure, eyther safe quiet, or daungerous disturbance, both to our particular consciences, and also to the common state. Therefore before you resolue vppon it, I pray you call to your considerations these two things: First, whether King *Richard* bee sufficiently deposed or no: Secondly, whether King *Henrie* be with good iudgement or iustice chosen in his place. For the first point we are first to examine, whether a king, being lawfully and fully instituted by any iust title, may vpon imputation eyther of negligence, or of tyrannie, be deposed by his subiects: Secondly, what King *Richard* hath omitted in the one, or committed in the other, for which he should deserue so heauie iudgement. I will not speake what may be doone in a popular state, or in a consular; in which although one beareth the name and honour of a Prince, yet he hath not supreme power of Maiestie; but in the one, the people haue the higest empire; in the other, the Nobilitie, and chiefe men of estate; in neyther, the Prince. Of the first sorte was the common wealth of the Lacedæmonians, who after the forme of gouernment which *Lieurgus* framed, oftentimes fined, oftentimes fettered their Kings, and sometimes condemned them to death: such were also in *Cæsars* time, the petie Kings of euery Citie in Fraunce; who were many times arreigned vpon life and death, and (as *Ambiorix* Prince of the *Leodienses* confessed) had no greater power ouer the people, then the people had ouer them. Of the second condition were the Romaine Emperours at the first; of whome some, namely, *Nero* and *Maximinus* were openly condemned, others were sodainly sur-

Tranquil. in caligula. Tacitus, in proæmio.

ſurprized by iudgement, and authoritie of the Senate: and ſuch are now the Emperours of Germany, whome the other Princes by their Ariſtocraticall power, doe not onely reſtrayne, but ſometimes alſo remooue from theyr imperiall ſtate: ſuch are alſo the Kinges of Denmarke, and Sweueland, who are many times by the nobilitye deiected, eyther into pryſon, or into exile: ſuch likewiſe are the Dukes of Venice, and of ſome other free ſtates in Italy: and the chiefeſt cauſe for which *Lewes* Earle of Flaunders was lately expelled from his place, was for drawing to himſelfe cogniſance in matters of life and death, which high power never pertayned to his dignitie.

In theſe and ſuch like gouernements, the Prince hath not regall rightes, but is himſelfe ſubiect to that power which is greater then his, whether it be in the Nobility or in the common people. But if the Soueraigne Maieſty be in the Prince, as it was in the three firſt Empires, and in the Kingdomes of Iudea and Iſraell; and is now in the kingdomes of England, Fraunce, Spaine, Scotland, Muſcouia, Turky, Tartaria, Perſia, Aethiopia, and almoſt all the Kingdomes of Aſia and Africke: although for his vices he be vnprofitable to the ſubiectes, yea hurtfull, yea intollerable: yet can they lawfully neither harme his perſon, nor hazard his power, whether by iudgement, or els by force: for neyther one, nor all Magiſtrates haue any authority ouer the Prince, from whome all authority is deriued, and whoſe onely preſence doeth ſilence, and ſuſpend all inferiour iuriſdiction and power. As for force, what ſubiecte can attempt, or aſſiſt, or counſaile, or conceale violence againſt his Prince, and not incurre the high and heynous crime of treaſon?

It is a common ſaying, thought is free: free indeede from puniſhment of ſecular lawes, except by worde or deed

deed it breake foorth into action: Yet the ſecret thoughts againſt the ſacred maieſty of a Prince, without attempt, without endeuour, haue beene adiudged worthy of death: and ſome who in auriculer confeſſion, haue diſcouered their treacherous deuiſes againſt the perſon of their Prince, haue afterwardes beene executed for the ſame. All lawes doe exempt a madde man from puniſhment: becauſe theyr actions are not gouerned by theyr will and purpoſe: and the will of man being ſet aſide, all his doings are indifferent; neyther can the body offend without a corrupt or erronious minde: yet if a mad man draw hys ſword vpon his King, it hath bin adiudged to deſerue death. And leaſt any man ſhould ſurmiſe that Princes, for the maintenance of theyr owne ſafety and ſoueraignety, are the onely authors of theſe iudgements; let vs a little conſider the patternes and precepts of holy Scripture. *Nabuchadnezzer* King of Aſſiria waſted all Paleſtine with fire and ſwoord, oppugned Hieruſalem a long time, and at the laſt expugned it: ſlue the King: burnt the Temple: tooke away the holy veſſelles and treaſure: the reſt hee permitted to the cruelty and ſpoyle of his vnmercifull ſoldiers: who defiled all places with rape and ſlaughter, and ruinated to the ground that flouriſhing Citty: after the glut of this bloudy butchery, the people which remayned, he led Captiue into Chaldæa: and there erected his golden Image, and commaunded that they which refuſed to worſhip it, ſhould bee caſt into a fierye furnace.

What crueltye, what iniuſtice, what impiety is comparable to this? and yet God calleth *Nabuchadnezzer* his ſeruant, and promiſeth him hyre and wadges for his ſeruice: and the Prophetes *Ieremiah* and *Baruch* dyd wryte vnto the Iewes to praye for the life of him, and of *Baltaſar* hys Sonne, that theyr dayes myght bee vppon earth as the dayes of Heauen: and *Ezechiel* with

Ierem. 25. 9. Ezech. 29. 18. Ierm. 19. 7. Baruch. 1, 11.

with bitter termes abhorreth the disloyalty of *Zedechia*, because he reuolted from *Nebuchadnezzer*, whose homager and tributary he was. What shall we say of *Saul?* did he not put all the Priestes to execution, because one of them did relieue holy and harmeleſſe *Dauid?* did he not violently persecute that his most faithfull seruant and dutifull Sonne in law? during which pursuite, he fel twice into the power of *Dauid*; who did not onely spare, but also protect the King, and reproued the pretorian souldiers for their negligent watch, and was touched in heart for cutting away the lappe of his garment: and afterwards caused the messenger to be slaine, who vpon request and for pity, had lent his hand (as he said) to help forward the voluntary death of that sacred King. As for the contrary examples: as that of *Iehu* who slue *Iehoram* and *Ahazia*, Kings of Israell and Iuda: they were done by expresse oracle & reuelation from God, and are no more set downe for our imitation, then the robbing of the Ægyptians, or any other perticuler and priuiledged commaundement, but in the generall precept, which all men must ordinarily follow, not onely our actions, but our speeches also, & our very thoughtes are strictly charged with duty and obedience vnto Princes, whether they be good or euill, the law of God ordaineth: *that he which doth presumptuously against the ruler of the people shall dye:* and the Prophet *Dauid* forbiddeth, to touch the Lords annointed. *Thou shalt not* (saith the Lord) *raile vpon the iudges, neither speake euill against the ruler of the people.* And the Apostles do demaund further that euen our thoughtes and soules bee obedient to higher powers. And least any should imagine that they meant of good Princes onely, they speake generally of all; and further

So did *Domitian* put to death *Epaphroditus*, *Neroes* libertine, because he helped *Neroe* (although in loue) to kill himselfe. So did *Seuerus* kill all the killers of *Pertinax* his predecessour: and likewise *Vitellius* did put to death all the murtherers of *Galba*. *Theophilus* Emperour of Grecia caused all those to be slaine, who had made his Father Emperour, by killing *Leo Armenius*. And *Alexander* the great put to cruell execution, those that had slaine *Darius*, his mighty and mortall enemy.

Deut.17.12. Psal.105. Exod.22.28. Act.23.5. Rom 13.1.13. Tit.3.1. 1.Pet.2.13,14. 17. 1.Tim.2.2.

ther to take away all doubt, they may expreſſe mention of the euill. For the power and authoritie of wicked princes is the ordinance of god; and therfore Chriſt told Pilate, that the power which he had was giuen him from aboue; and the Prophet *Eſay* calleth *Cyrus*, being a Prophane and heathen Prince, the Lords anoynted. For God ſtirreth vp the ſpirit euen of wicked Princes to doe his will; and (as *Iehoſhaphat* ſaid to his rulers) they execute not the Iudgement of man, but of the Lord: in regard whereof *Dauid* calleth them Gods; becauſe they haue their rule and authority immedyatly from God: which if they abuſe, they are not to bee adiudged by their ſubiects, for no power within their dominion is ſuperior to theirs: but God reſerueth them to the ſoreſt tryall: *Horribly and ſodainly* (ſaith the Wiſeman) *Will the Lord appeare vnto them, and a hard iudgement ſhall they haue.*

Rom. 13.2. Iohn 19.11. Cap. 45 1. 2. Chron. 36 21. 2. Chron. 19, 6. Pſal. 28. Sap. 6.

The law of God commandeth, that the Childe ſhould be put to death, for any contumely done vnto the parents: but what if the Father be a robber? if a murtherer? if for all exceſſe of villanyes, odious and execrable both to God and man? ſurely hee deſerueth the higheſt degree of puniſhment, and yet muſt not the Sonne lift vp his hand againſt him, for no offence is ſo great as to be puniſhed by parricide: but our country is deerer vnto vs then our parentes: and the Prince is *pater patriæ*, the Father of our Country: and therefore more ſacred and deere vnto vs, then our parentes by nature, and muſt not be violated, how imperious, how impious ſo euer hee bee: doth he commaund or demaund, our perſons or our purſes, we muſt not ſhunne for the one, nor ſhrinke for the other: for (as *Nehemiah* ſaith) *Kinges haue dominion ouer the bodyes and ouer the cattle of their ſubiectes, at their pleaſure.* Doth he enioyne thoſe actions which are contrary to the lawes of God? we muſt neyther wholy obey, nor violently reſiſt, but with a conſtant courage ſubmit our ſelues to all manner of puniſhment, and ſhewe our ſub-

Quintil in declam. Cic. offic. lib. 1. Nehem. 9, 37.

ſubiection by enduring, and not performing: yea the Church hath declared it to bee an hereſie, to holde that a Prince may bee ſlaine or depoſed by his ſubiectes, for any diſorder or default, eyther in life, or elſe in gouernment, there will be faultes ſo long as there are men: and as wee endure with patience a barren yeere, if it happen and vnſeaſonable weather, and ſuch other defectes of nature, ſo muſt wee tollerate the imperfections of rulers, and quietlye expecte, eyther reformation, or elſe a change.

Alphonſ. a caſt in lib. de hæreſi in verb. Tyrannus. Dominie. Soto lib. 5. de iuſt. et iur. q. 1. artic. 3.

But alas good King *Richard*, what ſuch cruelty? what ſuch impiety hath he euer committed? examine rightly thoſe imputations which are layde againſt him, without any falſe circumſtance of aggrauation, and you ſhall finde nothing obiected, eyther of any truth, or of great moment. It may bee that many errours and ouerſightes haue eſcaped him, yet none ſo grieuous to bee termed tyranny; as proceeding rather from vnexperienced ignorance, or corrupt counſaile, then from any naturall and wilfull mallice. Oh, howe ſhall the world be peſtered with tirantes, if ſubiectes may rebell vppon euery pretence of tyranny? how many good Princes ſhall daylye bee ſuppreſſed by thoſe, by whome they ought to bee ſupported? if they leauie a ſubſedy, or any other taxation, it ſhall be claymed oppreſſion: if they put any to death for trayterous attempts againſt theyr perſons, it ſhall bee exclaymed cruelty: if they doe any thing againſt the luſt and liking of the people, it ſhall bee proclaymed tyrannie.

But let it be, that without authority in vs, or deſert in him, king *Richard* muſt be depoſed: yet what right had the Duke of Lancaſter to the Crowne? or what reaſon haue we without his right to giue it to him? if hee make title as heyre vnto king *Richard*, then muſt he yet ſtay vntill king *Richards* death; for no man can ſucceed as heyre to one that liueth.

liueth. But it is well knowne to all men, who are not eyther wilfully blinde or grosely ignorant, that there are some now aliue, lineally descended from Lionell Duke of Clarence, whose offspring was by iudgement of the high Court of Parlament holden the viii. yeere of the raigne of King *Richard*, declared next successour to the Crowne, in case King *Richard* should dye without issue. Concerning the tytle from *Edmund Crouchbacke*, I will passe it ouer seeing the authors thereof are become ashamed of so absurde abuse, both of theyr owne knowledge, and our credulity, and therefore all the clayme is now made, by right of conquest; by the cession and graunt of King *Richard*; and by the generall consent of all the people. It is a bad wooll that can take no colour: but what conquest can a subiecte pretend against his Soueraigne, where the warre is insurrection, and the victory high and heynous treason? as for the resignation which King *Richard* made, being a pent prisoner for the same cause; it is an acte exacted by force: and therefore of no force and validity to binde him: and seeing that by the lawes of this land, the king alone cannot alieanate, the auncient iewels and ornaments partaining to the Crowne, surely hee cannot giue away the Crowne it selfe, and therewithall the kingdome.

Neither haue we any custome, that the people at pleasure should electe their king: but they are alwayes bonnd vnto him, who by right of bloud is right successour, much lesse can they confirme and make good that title, which is before by violence vsurped: for nothing can then be freely doone, when liberty is once restrained by feare. So did *Scilla* by terrour of his legions, obtaine the lawe of *Velleia* to bee made, whereby hee was created dictator for fourescore yeeres: and by like impression of feare, *Cæsar* caused the law *Servia* to be promulged, by which he was made perpetuall dictator: but both these lawes were afterwards adiudged void. As for the deposing of King *Edward* the 2, it is no more

to be vrged, then the poyſoning of King *Iohn*, or the murdering of any other good and lawfull Prince: wee muſt liue according to lawes, and not to examples: and yet the kingdome was not then taken from the lawfull ſucceſſour. But if we looke backe to times lately paſt, we ſhall finde that theſe titles were more ſtronge in King *Stephen*, then they are in the Duke of Lancaſter: for King *Henry* the firſt being at large liberty, neyther reſtrained in body, nor conſtrained in minde, had appointed him to ſucceed: (as it was vpon good credit, certainly affirmed,) The people aſſented to this diſignement; and thereupon without feare, and without force, he was anoynted King, and obtained full poſſeſſion of the realme. Yet *Henry* (Sonne of the Earle of *Aniowe*) hauing a neerer right by his mother to the Crowne, (notwithſtanding his father was a ſtranger & himſelfe borne beyond the ſeas) rayſed ſuch rough warres vpon King *Stephen*, that there was no end of ſpoyling the goods and ſpilling the bloud of the vnhappy people, beſides the ruynes and deformities of many Cities and holdes; vntill his lawful inheritance was to him aſſured. It terifieth me to remember how many floriſhing Empires, and kingdomes haue bin by meanes of ſuch contentions either torne in peeces with deteſtiue diuiſion, or ſubdued to forren Princes, vnder pretence of aſſiſtaunce and ayde: and I neede not repeate howe ſore this Realme hath heretofore beene ſhaken with theſe ſeuerall miſchieues: and yet neither the examples of other countries nor the miſeries of our own, are ſufficient to make vs to beware.

O Engliſh men, worſe bewitched then the fooliſh Galathians, our vnſtayed mindes and reſtleſſe reſolutions, doe nothing elſe but hunt after our owne harmes: no people haue more hatred abroad, and none leſſe quiet at home: in other countries the ſword of inuaſion hath been ſhaken againſt vs: in our owne land, the fire of inſurrection hath bin kindled among vs: & what are theſe innouations, but whet-

ſtones

ſtones to ſharpen the one, and bellowes to blow vp the other.

Certainely I feare that the ſame will happen vnto vs which *Aeſope* fableth to haue been fallen vnto the Frogges; who being deſirous to haue a King, a beame was giuen vnto them: the firſt fall whereof did put them in ſome feare, but when they ſaw it lye ſtill in the ſtreame, they inſulted thereon with great contempt, and deſired a King of quicker courage: then was ſent vnto them a Storke, which ſtolking among them with ſtately ſteps, continually deuoured them. The mildneſſe of King *Richard* hath bred in vs this ſcorne, interpreting it to be cowardiſe and dulnes of nature: the next heyre is likewiſe reiected: I will not ſay that with greater courage we ſhall finde greater cruelty; but if eyther of theſe ſhall heereafter be able to ſet vp their ſide, and bring the matter to tryal by armes, I doe aſſuredly ſay, that which part ſoeuer ſhall carry the fortune of the field, the people both wayes muſt goe to wracke. And thus haue I declared my minde concerning this queſtion, in more wordes then your wiſdom, yet fewer then the weight of the cauſe doth require: and doe boldly conclude, that wee haue neyther power nor policy, eyther to depoſe king *Richard*, or to elect Duke *Henrie* in his place; that king *Richard* remaineth ſtill our Souerigne Prince, and therefore it is not lawfull for vs to giue iudgement vpon him; that the Duke whom you call king, hath more offended againſt the king and the realme, then the king hath done, either againſt him or vs; for being baniſhed the realme for ten yeres by the King and his counſaile (amongſt whom his owne Father was chiefe) and ſworne not to returne againe without ſpeciall lycenſe: he hath not onely violated his oath, but with impious armes diſturbed the quiet of the land, and diſpoſſeſſed the King from his royall eſtate, and now demaundeth iudgement againſt his perſon, without offence proued, or defence heard: if this iniury, and this periury doth nothing moue vs, yet let

both

both our priuate and common dangers somwhat withdraw vs from these violent proceedings.

This speach was diuersly taken, as men were diuersly affected betweene feare, hope, and shame: yet the most parte did make shew for king *Henrie*, and therevpon the Bishop was presently attached by the Earle Marshall, and committed to prison in the Abbey of S. Albones. Whose counsaile and coniecture then contemned, was afterwardes better thought vpon; partly in the life time of King *Henrie*, during whose raigne, almost no yeare passed without great slaughters and executions: but more especially in the times succeeding, when within the space of xxxvi. yeares, twelue set battailes vpon this quarrell were fought within the realme by English men only: and more then fourescore Princes of the royall bloud slaine one by another.

Then it was concluded, that King *Richard* should be kept in a large prison, with all manner of Princely maintenance: and if any persons should conspire, to reare warr for his deliuerance, that he should be the first man who should suffer death for that attempt. Then the Actes of the Parlament holden at Westminster, in the xi. yeare of King *Richard*, were reuiued; and the Parlament holden the xxi. yeare of king *Richard* was wholy repealed: and they who were attainted by that Parlament, were restored againe to their fame and honour, and to their landes without suing lyuerie, and to such goods wherof the King was not answered; except the rents and issues which had bin receiued out of their lands in the meane time. Herevpon *Richard* Earle of Warwicke vvas deliuered out of prison, and the Earle of Arundelles sonne recouered his inheritance: many others also that vvere banished or imprisoned by King *Richard*, vvere then fullye restored againe, to their Countrie, libertie, and estate.

It was further prouided, that none of those which came in ayde of King *Henrie* against King *Richard*, should for that

that cauſe be impeached or troubled. Alſo the King gaue to the Earle of Weſtmerland the Countie of Richmond; & to the Earle of Northumberland he gaue the Ile of Man, to be houlden of him by the ſeruice of bearing the ſword, wherewith he entred into England. Diuers other of his followers he aduaunceth to offices of higheſt place and charge, ſome vpon iudgement and for deſert, but moſt part to win fauour, and perhappes proiecting a plot for friends, if times ſhould change: for in many actions men take more care to preuent reuenge, then to leade an innocent and harmleſſe life.

It was further agreed, that the procurers of the death and murther of *Thomas* late Duke of Glouceſter, ſhould be ſearched out and ſeuerelie puniſhed. And iudgement was giuen againſt the appellants of the Earle of Warwicke and the Earle of Arundell, that the Dukes of Aumerle, Suſſex, and Exceter, the Marqueſſe of Dorſet, and the Earle of Glouceſter who were preſent, ſhould looſe their degree of honour for them and their heyres: that they ſhould likewiſe looſe all the Caſtles, Mannors, Lordſhippes, &c. then in their hands which ſometimes apperteined to thoſe whom they did appeale, and that all the letters patents & charters which they had cõcerning the ſame, ſhould be ſurrendred into the Chancerie, and there be cancelled: that for all other their Caſtles, Manors, Lordſhips, poſſeſſions, and liberties, they ſhould be at the grace and mercie of the King: that they ſhould giue no liueries, nor keepe any retinue of men, but onely ſuch officers as were meerelie neceſſarie for their degree: that if any of them ſhould adhere to *Richard* the depoſed King, in giuing him ayde or encouragement, againſt the iudgement of his depoſition, then he ſhould incurre the paines and forfeitures of high treaſon. And becauſe it was a clamorous complaint among the common people, that many officers had committed greeuous extortions and wrongs, eyther by the open maintenance or ſecret conniuence of theſe Lords:

Firſt

Firſt thoſe officers were remoued, and that corruption taken away with integritie, which briberie had wrought, in placing (for money) men of bad qualitie, in high degrees of office and ſeruice: then proclamations were made, that if any man had been oppreſſed by theſe Lords, or by any officers vnder them, he ſhould prooue his complaint, and receiue recompence. It was made a queſtion whether it was not meete that theſe noble men ſhould be put to death: the importunity of the people, & the perſwaſion of many great men drew that way, but policie was againſt it, and eſpecially the opinion of clemencie, which ſeemed needfull to the ſetling of a new riſen ſtate.

In this Parlament alſo the Lorde *Fitzwater* appealed the ſaid Duke of Aumerle, ſonne to the Duke of Yorke, vpon points of high treaſon: likewiſe the Lord *Morley* appealed *Iohn Montacute* Earle of Saliſburie, and more then twentie other appealants waged battaile; but the King purpoſing to lay the foundation of his realme by fauour and not by force, gaue pardon and reſtitution alike to all, vppon ſureties and band for their allegeance: and in a ſweet and moderate oration, he admoniſheth, and as it were intreated the one part, that ould griefes and grudges ſhould not be renued, but buried together with the memory of former times, wherein men were forced to doe many thinges againſt their mindes: the other part he deſired to be more regardfull of their actions afterward, & for the time paſt, ratter to forget that euer they were in fault, then to remember that they were pardoned. No puniſhment was laid vppon any, ſaue onely the Earle of Salisbury and the Lord Morley, who had beene in eſpeciall grace and fauour with King *Richard*: theſe two were committed to priſon, but at the ſute of their friends they were ſoone releaſed: the reſt the King receiued freelye to fauour, but moſt eſpecially the Duke of Aumerle, and the Duke of Exceſter, Lord Gouernour of Calice. The Duke of Aumerle was couſen germane to both the kings: *Iohn Holland*

land Duke of Exeter, was halfe brother to king *Richard*, and brother in lawe to King *Henrie*; whose ſiſter, the Lady *Elizabeth* he had taken to wife. The greateſt matter that was enforced againſt them, was their loialtie vnto King *Richard*: (a grieuous crime among rebels) becauſe they did not only ſtomacke and ſtorme at his deiection, but ſtirre alſo more then others, and allaye to raiſe forces on his behalfe. The Dukes boldly confeſſed the accuſation, that they were indeed vnfortunately faithfull to King *Richard*; but as thoſe who once are falſe, doe ſeldome afterwards prooue ſoundly firme, ſo they that haue ſhewed thẽſelues true to one prince may the better be truſted by any other. The King did rather admit this as a defence, then remit it as a fault: affirming, that ſuch examples were not to be miſliked of Princes: ſo he entred with them into great termes of friendſhip, and put them in place neereſt his perſon, endeauouring by courteſie and liberalitie, to make them faſt and faithfull vnto him: this fact was diuerſly interpreted, according to mens ſeueral diſpoſitions, ſome admiring the kings moderation, others diſliking and diſallowing his confidence; and indeed although theſe meanes haue to this purpoſe preuailed with ſome, yet the cõmon courſe may moue vs commonly to coniecture, that there is little aſſurance in reconciled enemies: whoſe affections (for the moſt part) are like vnto Glaſſe; which being once cracked, can neuer be made otherwiſe then crazed and vnſound.

Furthermore, to qualifie all preiudice and hard opinion which other princes might chaunce to conceiue, King *Henrie* diſpatched Embaſſadours to diuers countries neere vnto him, to make it knowne by what title, and by what fauour and deſire of all the people he atteyned the kingdome. To the Court of Rome hee ſent *Iohn Treuenant* Biſhop of Hereford, Sir *Iohn Cheyney* Knight, and Iohn *Cheyney* Eſquire: into Fraunce he ſent *Walter Sherlowe* Biſhop of Durham, and Lord *Thomas Pearcy*, Earle of Worceſter: into Spaine

he ſent *Iohn Trenor* Biſhop of S. Aſſaphes, and ſir *William Parre*, and into Almaine he ſent the Biſhop of Bangor, and certaine other. Moſt of theſe Princes (as in a matter which little concerned eyther their honour or their harme) ſeemed eyther not to regarde what was done, or eaſely to bee perſwaded that all was done well. But *Charles* King of Fraunce, was ſo diſtempered at this diſhonourable dealing with his ſonne in lawe King *Richard*, that by violence of his paſſion, he fell into his ould panges of phrenſie: and at the laſt by helpe of Phiſicke returning to the ſobrietie of his ſences, he purpoſed to make ſharpe warre vpon that diſloyall people (as he termed them) for this iniurie againſt their lawfull and harmeleſſe Prince. Many noble men of Fraunce ſhewed themſelues verye forwarde to enter into the ſeruice, but eſpecially the Earle of Saint *Paule*, who had maryed King *Richards* halfe Siſter. So letters of defiance were ſent into England, and great preparation was made for the warre.

Likewiſe the newes of theſe nouelties much abaſhed the Aquitanes (who were at that time vnder the Engliſh ſubiection) and plunged their thoughts in great perplexities. Some were grieued at the infamous blemiſh of the Engliſh nation, who had deſteyned their honour with the ſpot of ſuch diſloyall dealing: others feared the ſpoyle of their goods, and oppreſſion of their liberties by the Frenchmen; againſt whoſe violence they ſuſpected that the realme of England, beeing diſtracted into ciuill factions, eyther would not attend, or ſhould not be able to beare them out: but the Citizens of Burdeaux were chiefely anguiſhed in reſpect of King *Richard*, partlie fretting at his iniurie, and partlie lamenting his infortunitie; becauſe hee was borne and brought vppe within their Citie. And thus in the violence, ſome of their anger, ſome of their griefe, and ſome of their feare, in this ſort they did generally complaine.

O good

O good God (ſaid they) where is the world become? ſaints are turned to Serpents, and Doues into diuels. The Engliſh nation which hath been accompted fierce onely againſt their foes, and alwayes faithful to their friends; are now become both fierce and faithleſſe againſt their lawfull and louing Prince, and haue moſt barbarouſlie betrayed him. Who would euer haue thought that Chriſtians, that ciuill people, that any men, would thus haue violated all religion, all lawes, and all honeſt and orderly demeanure? And although the heauens bluſh at the view, and the earth ſweat at the burthen of ſo vile a villanie, and all men proclaime and exclaime vpon ſhame and confuſion againſt them: yet they neither feele the horrour; nor ſhrinke at the ſhame, nor feare the reuenge; but ſtand vpon tearmes, ſome of defence for the lawfulneſſe of their dealing, and ſome of excuſe for the neceſſitie. Well, let them be able to blinde the worlde, and to reſiſt mans reuenge; yet ſhall they neuer be able to eſcape eyther the ſight or vengeance of Almightie God; which we dayly expect, and earneſtly deſire to be powred vpon them. Alas good King *Richard*, thy nature was too gentle, and thy gouernment too milde for ſo ſtiffe and ſtubborne a people: what King wil euer repoſe any truſt in ſuch vnnaturall ſubiectes, but fetter them with Lawes as theeues are with Irons? What carriage heereafter can recouer their credite? What time wyll bee ſufficient to blotte out this blemiſh? What other action could they haue doone, more ioyfull to their enemyes, more woefull to their friendes, and more ſhamefull to themſelues? Oh corruption of times? Oh conditions of men.

The Frenchmen were nothing diſcontented at this diſcontentment of the Aquitanes; ſuppoſing that opportunitie was then offred, to get into their poſſeſſion the Dutchie of Guian, if either power or pollicie were thereto applyed. Hereupon *Lewes* Duke of Burbon came downe

to Angiers, who from thence ſent many meſſengers to the chiefe cities of Guian, and by faire ſpeeches and large promiſes, ſolicited the people to change alleageance: on the contrarie ſide, ſir *Robert Knowles* Lieutenant of Guian, endenoured with all diligence to repreſſe the mutinous, to ſtay the doubtfull, to confirme the good, and to reteine all in order and obedience: but he profited very little, whether by the weakeneſſe of his owne arme, or ſtiffe necke of the people it is not certainely aſſured. Neither did the Duke of Burbone much preuaile, when it was conſidered, how ponderous the yoake of Fraunce was aboue the Engliſh ſubiection: for all men were wel acquainted with what tributes and taxations the Frenchmen were charged, hauing in euerye countrie Lieutenants and Treaſurours aſſigned, the one to drawe the bloud, the other the ſubſtance of the ſlauiſh ſubiects, whoſe crueltie and couetouſneſſe laide holde without exception vppon all, the one tormenting by force, and the other vndooing by lawe. Thus ſtood the Aquitanes vppon tickle tearmes betweene obedience and reuolt, as a ſhippe which the winde driueth one way, and the tide another: deſirous they were to diſpleaſe the Engliſh, but loath to endanger and vndoe themſelues.

Vppon aduertiſement whereof, King *Henrie* ſent into Guian the Lord *Thomas Percie* Earle of Worceſter, whom he knew to bee faithfull vnto him, and expert in matters of charge, hauing in his companie a ſtrong and ſeruiceable band of Souldiers: who not by vnſeaſonable exprobating their fault, but by reaſon conuincing it, partlye with his wiſdome and credite ſo perſwaded, and partlye with his authoritie and forces ſo terrified the wauering people, that he wanne them to his opinion, and confirmed them in their alleageance; the grauer ſorte with reſpect of dutie and faith, the reſt with regarde and feare of daunger. Then he receiued oathes of obedience vnto King *Henrye*, and planted certaine ſtrong garriſons in places of

chiefe

chiefe import, without moleſtation if they remained quiet, and yet of force to repreſſe them if they ſhould rebell. This done, he turned againe into England, where hee ſhewed an excellent example of moderation, in ſeeming rather to haue found then to haue made the Aquitanes dutifull ſubiectes.

No ſooner could this ſtir be ſtinted, but another more dangerous and deſperate did foorthwith ariſe: for diuerſe noble men who eyther had diſſembled, or did repent the furtherance that they vſed to the aduauncement of King *Henrie*, did conſpire together to compaſſe his deſtruction: the hyſtories of that time doe vary, concerning the cauſes of this conſpiracy; whether it were for fauour to King *Richard*, as the nature of man is inclinable to beholde ſodaine miſfortune with a pittifull eye; or for enuie to King *Henrie*, as commonly we can endure exceſſiue fortune, no where ſo little as in thoſe that haue beene in equall degree with our ſelues: or whether vpon diſhonours receiued in the late Parlament or vpon diſdaine to ſee others goe before them in the Princes fauour, many ſought to reuenge theyr vniuſt anger with lewde diſloyaltie: likewiſe it is not aſſuredly knowne by what meanes the workers thereof were drawne together, and the ſecret deuiſes of ſome imparted to the reſt: whether one of them did perſwade another to enter into the action, or whether all were induced by the ſame vnconſtant diſpoſition and light account of faith: which being once falſed to King *Richard*, was afterwardes vpon euery light diſcontentment, lyttle reſpected to any: but concerning theſe matters, the moſt current report is this.

There was at that time an Abbot of Weſtminſter, one that applyed his ſtudies, not as the moſt part, to cloake idleneſſe and ſlouth vnder the glorious tytle of religion, but to enable himſelfe for counſaile and direction in publique affayres: who for the generall opinion of his wiſedome

and integritie: was in good fauour and credit with King *Richard*, and did accompany him in his laſt voyage into Ireland.

This Abbot called to his remembrance, a ſpeach which hee heard once fall from King *Henrie*, when hee was but Earle of Derbie, and not yet come to any great ſtayed neſſe, eyther in yeeres or iudgement; that Princes had too little, and religious men too much.

At that time the riches of the church were growne ſo great, that many began to looke vpon them with an enuious eye; but leaſt couetouſneſſe ſhould ſhew it ſelſe with open face, policie was pretended, and the exceſſe thought daungerous, both to the King and alſo to the cleargy; as verie like to cauſe want to the one, and wantonneſſe in the other.

Heerevpon many billes had beene put vppe in the parlaments houlden in the raigne of King *Richard*, that prouiſion might be made to repreſſe the increaſe of religious poſſeſſions; namely, that inquiſition and redreſſe might be had againſt ſuch religious perſons, as vnder the licence to purchaſe ten pounds yearelie, did purchaſe foureſcore, or a hundred pounds: and alſo againſt ſuch religious perſons as cauſed their villanies to take to their wiues free women inheritable, whereby the landes came to thoſe religious mens hands: yea it was moued in open Parlament, that the king ſhould ſeaze into his hands, all the temporall liuings of religious houſes, as beeing rather a burthen then a benefite vnto religion.

Vppon theſe and the like petitions, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and the Archbiſhop of Yorke, for themſelues and the Cleargie of their Prouinces, were oftentimes compelled to make their ſolemne proteſtations in open Parlament, that if any thing were attempted in reſtraint of the libertie of the Church, they would in no wiſe aſſent but vtterlie withſtand the ſame: the which their proteſta-

tions

tions they required to be enrouled.

So partly vpon loue to King *Richard*, and partly vppon feare, leaſt King *Henry* would bee as ready to inuade, as hee was to inueigh againſt the richeſſe of religious houſes: this Abbot was the firſt man that blewe the coales, and put fewell to the fire of this confederacy. And firſt hee obſerued a farre off, then hee ſearched more neerely and narrowly (and yet warely too) howe the myndes of certaine Noble men were affected, or rather infected agaynſt King *Henry*; tempering his ſpeeches in ſuch ſorte, that if matters ſorted to his minde, hee myght take them vpon him, if his courſes were croſſed, hee myght cleerely diſclayme them: at laſt hee inuited to his houſe vppon a daye, in Michaelmas tearme, thoſe whome hee had ſounded to bee moſte ſounde for his purpoſe: the chiefe of whome were ſuch as in the Parlament before had in ſome ſorte beene touched in reputation, although by pardon and reconcilement the harme did ſeeme to bee cloſed vp: theyr names were *Iohn Holland* Duke of Exceter, of whome mention hath beene made before, *Thomas Holland* his brothers Sonne, Duke of Surrey, *Edward* Duke of Armele, *Iohn Montacute* Earle of Salisbury, *Hugh-Spencer*, Earle of Gloceſter, *Iohn* Biſhoppe of Caerliele, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and *Magdalen* one of King *Richards* Chappell, who in all pointes both of feature and fauour, ſo neerely reſembled King *Richard*, that the Lordes diſſembled afterwardes that hee was King *Richard* indeede.

Theſe and ſome others were highly feaſted by the Abbot: and after dinner they withdrewe themſelues, into a ſecret Chamber to counſaile: heere the Duke of Exceter, who was moſte hotly bent eyther to reſtore, or to reuenge the cauſe of his depoſed brother, declared vnto the reſt, the allegeance that they had ſworne vnto King *Richard*: the honours and preferments whereunto they were

were by him aduanced: that therefore they were bounde both in conſcience by the one, and in kindneſſe by the other, to take his part againſt all men: that King *Henrie* contrary to both, had diſpoyled him of his royall dignitie, and vniuſtly poſſeſſed himſelfe thereof, whileſt they ſtood looking on, and ſhewed neither the obedience of ſubiectes, nor loue of friendes, as though they were men who knewe to doe any thing, better then to defend, and if neede were to dye for their lawful Prince and louing patron: that King *Henrie* by violent inuading, or fraudulent inſinuating himſelfe, into the Kingdome of his naturall and liege Prince, was but a tyrant, and vſurper, and ſuch a one as it was lawfull for any man, by any meanes to throw downe, without reſpect whether he were a good man or euill, for it is lawfull for no man, vpon pretece and ſhewe of goodneſſe to draw ſoueraignty vnto himſelfe: that the lawes and examples of beſt gouerned common wealths, did not onely permit this action but highly honoured it with ſtatues and garlandes, and titles of nobility, and alſo rewarded it with all the wealth of the ſuppreſſed tyrant: that this enterprize would be very profitable, and almoſt neceſſarie to the common wealth, by extinguiſhing thoſe warres which the Scots menaced, the Frenchmen prepared, and the Welſhmen had already begun vpon this occaſion and quarrell: that hee did not diſtruſt but it might be accompliſhed by open armes, but he thought it more ſure for them, and for the common wealth more ſafe, to put firſt in proofe ſome ſecret policy: and to that purpoſe he deuiſed, that a ſolemne Iuſtes ſhould be challenged, to be kept at Oxforde, in Chriſtmaſſe holydayes, betweene him and twentie on his part, and the Earle of Salisburie and twentie on his part, to which king *Henrie* ſhould be inuited: and when he was moſt intentiue in regarding their militarie diſport, he ſhould ſodainly be ſurprized by men, which without ſuſpition might at that time bee aſſembled, both for number and preparation ſufficient for the

exploit,

exployt, and thereby King *Richard* presently be restored, both to his liberty, and to his state.

This deuise was no sooner vttered, then allowed and applauded of the rest of the confederates: and so resoluing vpon the enterprize, they tooke an oath vpon the Euangelistes. the one to be true and secret to the other, euen to the houre and point of death: the Lords also made an Indenture sextipartite wherein they bound themselues, to doe their best assay, for the death of the one king and deliuerance of the other: this they sealed and subscribed, and deliuered to euery Lord a counter-pane of the same: and further they concluded what forces should be gathered, by whom, how they should be ordred and placed, and to whose trust the execution should be committed.

When all thinges were thus contriued, and theyr hungry ambitious mindes were well filled with the vaine winds of hope and desire: the Duke of Exceter came to the King at Windsore, and desired him for the loue that hee bare to the noble feates of Cheualry, that hee would vouchsafe to honour with his presence the martiall exercise, that was appointed betweene him and the Earle of Salisbury, and to be the iudge of their performances if any controuersie should arise.

The King supposing that to be intended indeed, which was pretended in shew, easily yeelded to his request. The Duke supposing his purpose now halfe performed, departed to his house, and so did the other confederates: where they busily bestirred themselues, in raysing men, and preparing horse and armour for the accomplishment of thys acte.

When the Dutchesse of Exceter, king *Henries* Sister, perceiued the drift of the deuise, and saw that the Duke was vpon his iourney: alas good Lady howe was shee distracted in minde, with a sharpe conflicte of her conceiptes?

one way ſhe was mooued with nature towardes her brother; another waye ſhee was more ſtrongly ſtirred, with loue towards her Lord and husband; and both wayes ſhee was deuided in dutie. And what (ſayd ſhee) is this loue then againſt nature? or aboue it? ſhall I bee vndutifull to my Prince? or is no dutie comparable to the dutie of a wife? heigh ho: in what perplexities (wretched woman) am I plunged, to ſee my two deereſt friends in this caſe of extremitie, that (it is doubtfull which but) certainlie one muſt be ruined by the other. Herewith ſuch a ſhower of teares ſtreamed downe her cheekes, that it drowned her ſpeech, and ſtopped the paſſage of further complaint: which when the Duke eſpyed, hee ſtepped vnto her, and leazing ſoftly vppon her hand, vſed theſe words. What Belle? is it kindneſſe to me or kindred to your brother that thus hath ſet your eyes on floate? Content your ſelfe woman, for whatſoeuer the euent ſhall be, it cannot be euill to you, nor worſe to me then now it is. For if my purpoſe preuaile, and my brother bee reſtored againe to his Crowne, both of vs ſhall be ſure neuer to decline: if it be preuented, and your brother continue ſtill in his eſtate, no harme ſhall be doone vnto you, and I ſhall be ſure then of that deſtruction which I doe now continually dread; the feare whereof in expecting, is a greater torment then the paine in ſuffering. When hee had thus ſaide, hee kiſſed her, and ſo leauing her to the torture of a thouſand thornie thoughts, he tooke his iorney towards Oxforde, with a great company both of Archers and Horſe men. There he found all the reſt of his complices, well armed and banded, except onely the Duke of Aumerle.

The King alſo hearing that both the Challengers and defendants were in a readineſſe, determined the daye following to ride to Oxforde, according to his promiſe and appointment.

Now

Now the confederates much maruailed at the ſtay of the Duke of Aumerle, ſome onely blamed his ſlackneſſe, others began to ſuſpect it, euery man coniectured as he was diuerſly affected betweene confidence and feare: and in this confuſion of opinions, they ſent vnto him in poſte, to know the certaine truth. Before the meſſenger came to the Duke, hee was departed from Weſtminſter towards Oxford, not the direct way, but went firſt to ſee his Father the Duke of York, and carried with him the counterpane of the Indenture of confederacy. As they ſate at dinner, the Father eſpied it in his boſome, and demaunded what it was: the Sonne humbly craued pardon, and ſaid that it nothing touched him, by S. George (quoth the Father) but I will ſee it: and ſo whether vpon precedent iealoſie, or ſome preſent cauſe of ſuſpition he tooke it away from him by force. When he perceiued the contents, he ſodainly aroſe from the table, & with great fierceneſſe both of countenance and ſpeech, vttered to his Sonne theſe wordes.

I ſee traytor, that idleneſſe hath made thee ſo wanton and mutinous, that thou playeſt with thy faith, as children doe with ſtickes: thou haſt been once already faithleſſe to King *Richard*, & now again art falſe to King *Henry*, ſo that like the fiſh *Sepia*, thou troubleſt all the waters wherin thou liueſt. Thou knoweſt that in open Parlament I became ſuretie and pledge for thy allegeance, both in bodye and goods: and can neither thy dutie, nor my deſert reſtreine thee, from ſeeking my deſtruction? in faith, but I will rather helpe forward thine. With that hee commaunded his Horſes to bee made readie, and preſentlye tooke his iorneye towardes Windſore, where the King then laye.

The Duke of Aumerle had no time eyther to conſulte with his friends, or to conſider with himſelfe what was beſt to bee doone: but taking aduiſe vppon the ſodaine,

he mounted likewiſe on horſebacke, and poſted towardes Windſore another way. It was no neede to force him forwarde, his youthfull bloud, and his ſodaine daunger were in ſteed of two winges, to keepe his horſe in *Pegaſus* pace: ſo that he came to Windſore, & was alighted at the Caſtell, before his ſtiffe aged Father could come neere. Then hee entred the gates, and cauſed them to be ſurely locked, and tooke the keyes into his owne hands, pretending ſome ſecret cauſe for which he would deliuer them vnto the King. When he came in preſence he kneeled downe and humblie craued of the King mercie and forgiueneſſe. The king demaunded for what offence? Then with a confuſed voice and ſad countenance, caſting downe his eyes as altogether abaſhed, partly with feare of his daunger, and partly with ſhame of his diſcredit; he declared vnto the King all the manner of the conſpiracie. The King ſeemed neither raſhlie to beleeue, nor negligentlie to diſtruſt the Dukes report; neyther ſtood it with pollicie to entertaine the diſcouerie with any hard and violent vſage: therefore with gracious ſpeeches he comforted the Duke, and if this bee true, ſayd he, we pardon you: if it be feined, at your extreame perrill be it.

By this time the Duke of Yorke was rapping at the Caſtle gates, and being admitted to the Kings preſence, he deliuered to him the endenture of confederacie, which hee had taken from his ſonne. When the King had redde it, and was thereby perſwaded of the truth of the matter, he was not a litle diſquieted in minde, complaining of the vnconſtant diſpoſition of thoſe men, whom neither crueltie (he ſaid) could make firme to King *Richard*, nor clemencie to him; but vppon diſlike of euery preſent gouernment, they were deſirous of any change. So being poſſeſſed with deeper thoughts then to gaze vppon games, he layde his iorney aſide, and determined to atend at Windſor, what courſe his

his enemies would take, and which waye they would set forward: knowing right well, that in ciuill tumults, an aduised patience and opportunitie well taken, are the only weapons of aduantage; and that it is a speciall point of wisdome, to make benefit of the enimies follie. In the meane time he directed his letters to the Earle of Northumberland his high Constable, and to the Earle of Cumberland his high Marshall, and to others his most assured friends, concerning these sodaine and vnexpected accidents.

The confederates all this time hearing nothing of the Duke of Aumerle, and seeing no preparation for the Kings comming, were out of doubt that theyr treason was betraied. And now considering that once before they had beene pardoned, the guilt of this their rebellion, excluded them from all hope of further mercie; whereupon they became desperate, and so resolued to prosecute that by open armes, wherein their priuie practises had failed. And first they apparelled *Magdalen* (a man very like to King *Richard* both in stature and countenance, and of yeeres not disagreeable) in princely attire; and gaue foorth that hee was King *Richard*, and that eyther by fauour or negligence of his keepers, he was escaped out of prison, and desired the faith and ayde of his louing subiectes. Then they determined to dispatch messengers to *Charles* King of France, to desire his helpe and assistance on the behalfe of his sonne in lawe, if need should require.

The common people which commonly are soone changable, and on the sodaine, as prone to pitty as they were before excessiuely cruell, most earnestlie wished the enlargement of King *Richard*, and earnestlie wishing, did easely beleeue it: in which imaginarie conceit, being otherwise men of no deepe search, the presence of *Magdalene* most strongelie confirmed them, and so eyther vpon ignorance of truth or delight in trouble, they ioyned themselues in great troops

to the Lordes: desiring nothing more then to be the meanes whereby King *Richard* should be restored, as in a manner resuming their first affections and humors towards him. Then the lords of this association with great force, but with greater fame, as the manner is of matters vnknowne, aduanced forward in battell arraye towardes Windsore, against King *Henrie*, as against an enemie of the common state; hauing in theyr company aboue forty thousand armed men. The King vpon intelligence of theyr aproache, secretlye with a few horse, the next Sunday night after Newyeres day, departed from Windsore to the Tower of London, and the same night before it was daye, the confederates came to the Castle of Windsore: where missing their expected praye, they stood doubtfull and diuided in opinions, which waye to bend their course. Some aduised them with all speede to follow the King to London, and not to leaue him any leaue and libertie, to vnite an armie against them: that Winter was no let but in idle and peaceable times: that in ciuill discentions nothing is more safe then speede, and greater aduantage alwayes groweth by dispatching then deferring: that whileft some were in feare, some in doubt, and some ignorant, the Citie, yea the realme might easilye be possessed: and that many armies whose furie at the first rush could not be resisted by delayes did weare out, and waste to nothing. Others who would seeme to by considerate and wise, but in verye deede were no better then dastardes, perswaded rather to set King *Richard* first at libertie; for if their counterfeiting should bee discouered before they possessed themselues of his person, the people vndoubtedly would fall from them to the certaine confusion of them all. Hereuppon they gaue ouer the pursuite, and retired to Colebrooke, and there delayed out the time of dooing, in deliberating, beeing neither couragiouslye quicke, nor considerately stayed, but faintlie and fearefullye shrincking backe:

backe: and when they once beganne to relent, they decreased euerye day more and more both in power and in hope.

King *Henrie* the next morning after hee was come to the Tower, sent to the Maior of the Citie to put Souldiours in armes for his assistance, who presentlye presented vnto him three thousand Archers, and three thousand bill-men, besides those that were appointed for defence of the Citie. The King spent vpon him many good speeches, and liberally loaded him with promises and thanks; and soone after he issued out of London, with twenty thousand tall men, and came to Hounslowe Heath, abiding there, and as it were daring his enemies to ioyne issue in the field: contemning theyr disorderlye multitude, as a vaine terrour of names without forces. But the confederates eyther for feare of the Kings power, or for distrust of their owne, or else lingring, perhappes, after some succour out of Fraunce, refused the encounter, and doubtfull it is whether they shewed greater courage in setting vp the danger, or cowardise in declining it when it was presented vnto them.

So they departed from Colebrooke to Sunnings, a place neere Redding, where Queene *Isabell*, King *Richards* wife did then abide: to whom vppon the plaine trueth before declared, fame had falslye descanted, that King *Richard* was escaped out of prison, and did lye at Pomfret with a hundred thousand armed men; and that King *Henrie* for feare of him, was fledde with his children and friends to the Tower of London. All which was as lightlye beleeued as it was vainlye toulde: whereupon shee defaced King *Henries* armes, and plucked away his cognisance from those his seruants that attended vppon her; and hauing in some sorte satisfied her womannish anger, with this harmeleſſe spight, shee and the

Lordes

Lordes departed together firſt to Wallingforde, and from thence to Abingron, ſtirring the people by the way to take armour, and to riſe in ayde of King *Richard*, who was (ſaide they) and is, and ſhould be their Prince.

At the laſt they came to Chicheſter, and there the Lordes tooke their lodgings, the Duke of Surrey and the Earle of Salisburie in one Inne; the Duke of Exceter and the Earle of Glouceſter in another; and all the hoaſt encamped in the fields. But the Bayliffe of the towne, ſuſpecting all this countenance to be but the vaine flaſhe of a falſe fire, did in the night with about foureſcore Archers, beſet and ſet vpon the houſe where the Duke of Surrey and the Earle of Saliſburie laye: who were men but of weake reſiſtance by nature, but being put vpon neceſſitie, ſhewed great manhood and perſiſtance in defending themſelues againſt the townſmen. The Duke of Exceter and the Earle of Glouceſter being in another Inne, were not able by force to reſcue their aſſociates; whereupon a certaine Prieſt of their companye ſet diuers houſes in the towne on fire, ſuppoſing thereby to diuert the townſmen from their aſſault, to the ſauing of their houſes and of their goods: but this fire greatly inflamed their furie, and made them more obſtinate in their attempt, crying out that they would neuer labour to reſcue their loſſes, but to reuenge them; and that with the bloud of the Lords, whoſe flames ſhould be quenched. Then there aroſe confuſed clamours and noyſes, all the towne being in an vproare and in armes, ſhooting fiercelie and running vpon the Lords with a raſhe and deſperate rage; not caring to looſe many, wherof they had many to ſpare.

When the Earle of Exceter and they that were with him perceiued the force of the aſſaylants daungerouſlie to encreaſe, and that it was impoſſible for a few to ſuſteine the furie of ſo many ſo obſtinately bent: they ſtedde out of the backeſide towards the campe, intending to bring the whole armie

army to the reſcue: but the ſoldiers hauing heard a tumult and ſeeing fire within the towne, ſuppoſed that the King was entred with all his puiſſance: whereupon being ſtrooke with a ſodaine and falſe feare, and wanting a commaunder of courage to confirme them, they ran away, and diſpearſed themſelues without meaſure; and ſo whileſt euery man endeuoured to ſaue himſelfe, all were brought to their confuſion.

Thus the Duke of Surrey, and the Earle of Salisbury, and the Lords, and Gentlemen which were in their company, were left to defend themſelues againſt the townesmen as they could: who manfullye maintained the fight with great bloudſhed of theyr enemies, from midnight vntill three of the clocke the next day in the after noone: at the laſt, being inferiour both in number and fortune, the Duke and the Earle were wounded to death and taken, and the ſame euening theyr heades were ſtricken off and ſent to London: there were alſo taken Sir *Bennet Shelley*, Sir *Barnard Brokas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and 28. other Lordes, Knights and Gentlemen, who were ſent to Oxford, where the King then lay, and there were put to execution.

The Duke of Exceter when he found the army diſperſed and fled, fled likewiſe with Sir *Iohn Shelley* into Eſſex, lamenting the certaine deſtruction which his raſhneſſe had procured to himſelfe, and to his friends, but moſte eſpecially to King *Richard*; if not as a party, yet as a cauſe of this vnhappy tumult; many times he did attempt to haue eſcaped by ſea into Fraunce, but he was alwayes driuen backe by diſtreſſe of weather; and ſo wandring and lurking in ſecret places, hee was at the laſt attached as hee ſate at ſupper in a certaine friendes houſe, and led to Plaſhy, and there ſhortly after beheaded: ſo that a man might probably coniecture that the death of the Duke of Gloceſter was then brought in reckoning, who by his counſell and contry-

nance chiefly, in the ſame place had been apprehended. An excellent example for all thoſe which meaſure their Actions eyther by theyr pleaſure, or by their power: that reuenge of iniurous dealing, although it be prolonged, yet doth neuer faile, but commeth ſurely although perhappes, ſlowly. This Duke was a man of high parentage, of a franke minde, and wealth anſwerable thereunto: openly praiſeworthy, but his ſecret actions were hardly ſpoken of: he was of conſent to all his brothers vices, and of counſaile to many, yet ſomewhat the more cloſe and vigilant man: and not ſo much partaker of his proſperity, as violently carried with the current of his miſery.

The Earle of Glouceſter fled towardes Wales, but was forelayed and taken, and beheaded at Briſtow: *Magdalen* the counterfeite of King *Richard*; flying into Scotland, was apprehended and brought to the Tower, and afterward hanged and quartered, with *W. Ferby* another of King *Richards* Chapleines. Diuerſe other Lordes and Knights and Gentlemen, and a great number of meane and baſe perſons, were in other places put to death; inſomuch as the King though otherwiſe of a very temperate and intreatable nature, ſeemed to ſhew too hard and haughty dealing in reuenging his owne iniury, or rather maintaining the iniury that he had done: the heads of the chiefe conſpirators, were pitched vpon poles, and ſet ouer London Bridge: in all other partes of the realme a ſpectacle both lamentable and vgly was preſented to the view and terrour of others: bodies hewen in peeces, heades and quarters of vnfortunate diſmẽbred wretches putrifiing aboue ground: not al for deſert, but many to ſatisfy either the malice, or want of King *Henries* friends; inſomuch as many graue men openly gaue forth, that in ſhort time there would be cauſe to wiſh King *Richard* again, as being more tollerable to endure the cruelty of one, then of many, and to liue where nothing, then where any thing

thing might be permitted.

The Abbot of Weſtminſter in whoſe houſe and in whoſe head the confederacy began, hearing of theſe aduentures, as he was going betweene his monaſtery and his manſion fell ſodainly into a palſie, and ſhortly after without ſpeech ended his life; and although in this enterprize fortune gaue policy the check, and by a ſtrange accedent which wiſdome could not foreſee, ouerturned the deniſe, yet is it certainely affirmed, that this Abbot firſt ſtirred the ſtone, which rowling along, was like to haue turned king *Henrie* out of his ſeate. The biſhop of Caerliel, was condemned vpon this treſon, but the extremity of his feare, and griefe, cloſed vp his daies, and preuented the violence and ſhame of publike execution. And now King *Richard* after he had abdicated his dignity, did but ſhort time enioy that ſweet ſecurity, which he did vainly expect, and firſt all his goods which hee did giue in ſatisfaction of the iniuries that hee had done, were brought to diuiſion and ſhare amongſt his enemies: ſhortly after he was remoued from the Tower, to the Caſtle of Leedes in Kent, and from thence to Pomfret, to the ende that by often changing hee might eyther more ſecretly bee diſpatched, or more vncertainly found: heere being kept in ſtreight priſon, both innocent & ignorant of this offence, he was notwithſtãding made a party in the puniſhment. For King *Henry* perceiuing that the Lords ſo far preuailed with their late ſtratageme, that if their ſtomacke had bin anſwerable to their ſtrength, & their bold beginning had not ended in faintnes and ſloath, they might haue driuen him to a hard hazzard; cauſed King *Richard* to be put to death, intending to make ſure, that no man ſhould cloake open rebellion, vnder the colour of following ſides, nor countenance his cõſpiracy, either with the perſon or name of K. *Richard*: whether hee did expreſſely commaund his death, or no, it is a queſtion; out of queſtion he ſhewed ſome liking and deſire

to the action, and gaue allowance thereto when it was doone.

The moſt current report at that time went, that hee was princely ſerued euery day at the Table, with aboundance of coſtly meates, according to the order preſcribed by Parlamen:, but was not ſuffered to taſt or touche any one of them; and ſo periſhed of famine; being tormented with the preſence of that, whereof he dyed for want, but ſuch horrible and vnnaturall crueltie, both againſt a King and a kinſeman, ſhould not proceed from King *Henrie* (me thinke) a man of a moderate and milde diſpoſition, nor yet from any other minde which is not altogether both ſauage in humanitie, and in religion prophane. One wrighter who would ſeeme to haue the perfect intelligence of theſe affayres, maketh report, that King *Henrie* ſitting at his table ſad and penſiue, with a deepe ſigh brake foorth into theſe wordes: Haue I no faithfull friend that wil deliuer me of him, whoſe life wil breed deſtruction to me and diſturbance to the realme, and whoſe death will bee a ſafetie and quiet to both? for how can I be free from feare, ſo long as the cauſe of my daunger doth continue? and what ſecuritie, what hope ſhall we haue of peace, vnleſſe the ſeed of ſedition be vtterly rooted out.

Vpon this ſpeech a certaine Knight called Sir *Pierce* of Extone, preſently parted from the Court, accompanyed with eight tall men, and came to Pomfrete, and there commaunded, that the Eſquire who was accuſtomed to ſewe, and take the aſſay before King *Richard*, ſhould no more vſe that manner of ſeruice: and let him (quoth he) now eate wel, for he ſhall not eate long. King *Richard* ſate downe to dinner, and was ſerued without courteſie or aſſaye, whereat he merueyled, and demaunded of the Eſquire, why he did not his duty? the Eſquire anſwered, that he was otherwiſe commaunded by Sir *Pierce* of Extone, who was lately come from

from King *Henrie*. The King being somewhat mooued at his acte and answere, tooke the caruing knife in his hand, and strucke the Esquire therewith lightly on the head, saying, the deuill take *Henrie* of Lancaster and thee together: with that Sir *Pierce* entred the chamber, with eight men in harneys, euery one hauing a byll in his hand: Whereupon King *Richard* perceiuing their drift and his owne daunger, put the table from him, and stepping stoutly to the formost man, wrested the bill out of his hand, where with) although vnarmed and alone) he manfully defended himselfe a good space, and slew fowre of his assaylants. Sir *Pierce* lept to the chaire where King *Richard* was wont to sit, whileſt the reſt chased him about the chamber. At the last being forced towards the place where Sir *Pierce* was, he with a stroake of his Pollax felled him to the ground: and forthwith he was miserable rid out of his miserable life. It is saide that at the pointe of his death, hee gathered some spirit, and with a fainte and feeble voice, groaned foorth these wordes.

My great grandfather King *Edward* the second, was in this manner deposed, imprisoned, and murthered; by which meanes my grandfather King *Edward* the third obteyned possession of the crowne: and now is the punishment of that iniurie powred vpon his next succeſſour. Well, this is right for mee to suffer, but not for you to doe: your King for a time may ioye at my death, and enioy his desire; but let him qualifie his pleasures with expectation of the like iuſtice: for God who measureth all our actions by the malice of our mindes, will not suffer this violence vnreuenged.

Whether these wordes proceeded from a distempered desire, or from the iudgement of his foresight, they were not altogether idle and vaine. For Sir *Pierce* expecting great fauor and rewards for his vngracious seruice, was frustrated

of both, and not onely missed that countenance for which he hoped, but lost that which before he had: so odious are vices euen where they are profitable.

Heerevpon hee grew at the first discontented, and afterwardes mightely turmoyled and tormented in conscience, and raging against himselfe would often exclaime, that to pleasure one vnthankefull person, he had made both himselfe and his posterity, hatefull and infamous to all the world.

King *Henrie* with great discontentment and disquiet held the kingdome during his life: and so did his sonne King *Henrie* the fifth: in whose time by continuall warres against the Frenchmen, the malice of the humour was otherwise exercised and spent. But his second successour King *Henry* the sixth was dispossessed thereof, and together with his young sonne *Henry* imprisoned and put to death, eyther by the commaundement or conniuence of King *Edward* the fourth.

And hee also escaped not free; for hee dyed not without many and manifest suspicions of poison: and after his death his two sonnes were disinherited imprisoned, and butchered by their cruell Vncle the Duke of Gloucester, who being a tyrant and vsurper, was lawfully slaine in the field; and so in his person (hauing no issue) the tragedie did end. Which are most rare and excellent examples, both of comfort to them that are oppressed, and of terrour to violent dealers; that God in his secret iudgement dooth not alwayes so certainely prouide for our safetie, as reuenge our iniuries and harmes: and that all our vniust actions haue a daye of payment, and many times by waye of retaliation, euen in the same manner and measure wherein they were committed.

And thus was King *Richard* brought to his death, by violence and force as all wrighters agree, although all

agree

agree not vppon the manner of the violence. Hee was a man of perſonage rather well proportioned then tall, of great beautie, and grace, and comlineſſe in preſence; hee was of a good ſtrength, and no abiect ſpirit; but the one by eaſe, the other by flatterie were much abaſed. Hee deſerued many friends, but found fewe, becauſe hee ſought them more by liberalitye, then vertuous dealing. Hee was merueilous infortunate in all his actions, which may verye well bee imputed to his negligence and ſloath; for hee that is not prouident can ſeldome proſper, but by his looſeneſſe will looſe, whatſoeuer fortune, or other mens labours doe caſt vppon him. At the laſt hee was driuen to ſuch diſtreſſe, that hee accompted it as a benefit, to bee disburdened of his royall dignitie, for which other men will not ſticke, to put theyr goods, and liues, and ſoules in hazarde.

Hee liued three and thirtie yeares, and raigned two and twentie. His dead body was embaulmed, and ſeared, and couered with Lead all ſaue his face, and carryed to London, and in all the chiefe places by the waye, his face was vncouered and ſhewen, that by viewe thereof no doubt ſhould bee made concerning his death. At London hee had a ſolemne obſequie kept in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paule*, the King being preſent, and all the chiefe men of the Cittie.

Then hee was conueyed to Langley Abbey in Buckinghamſhire, about twentie miles from London, and there obſcurely enterred by the Biſhop of Cheſter, the Abbot of S. Albones, and the Abbot of Waltham, without preſence of noble men, without confluence of the common people, and without the charge of a dinner for celebrating the funerals: but afterward at the commaundement of King *Henry* the fifth, his body was taken vp, and remoued to Weſtminſter, and honourablye entombed amongſt his aunceſters.

with

with Queene Anne his wife, in expiation (as it is like) of his Fathers violent and vnfaithfull dealing. So hee whose life was alwayes tumultuous and vnquiet, could not readily find reſt for his bones, euen after death. It was not amiſſe in regard of the common wealth that he was dead; yet they who cauſed his death had ſmall reaſon to reckon it among theyr good deedes.

And thus doe theſe and the like accidents dayly happen to ſuch Princes as will be abſolute in power, reſolute in wil, and diſſolute in life.

This yeere *Humfrey* the ſonne and heyre of the Duke of Glouceſter, dyed of the plague, as he returned out of Ireland where King *Richard* had left him priſoner; and ſhortly after the Dutches his mother with violence of griefe ended her dayes: this yeere alſo dyed *Thomas Moubray* the exiled duke of Norfolke, whoſe death would much haue been lamented, if he had not furthered ſo many lamentable deaths: but he ouerliued his honour, & ſaw himſelfe accounted a perſon infamed and of no eſtimation. Likewiſe about this time, *Iohn* Duke of Brittaine deceaſed, who had taken to wife *Mary* daughter to King *Edward* the third, and by her had no iſſue but by *Ioan* his ſecond wife he left behinde him three ſons, *Iohn*, *Richard* & *Arthur*: this *Ioan* was afterwards maried to K. *Henrie*, as hereafter ſhall appeare. Alſo this yeere *Edmund* Duke of Yorke departed this life, his honour not ſtayned, his fame not touched: he was a man very circumſpect and wary in his cariage, not careleſſe of a good fame, nor greedy after a great: of other mens wealth not deſirous, liberall of his owne, and of the common ſparing: he did not by obſtinate oppoſing himſelfe againſt the current of the time, raſhly haſten, eyther his fame or his fall, but by moderation attained ſafely that degree of praiſe, and honour, which others aſpiring vnto by deſperate courſes, wanne with ambitious death, without any other profit at all. He left behinde him

two

two noble ſonnes, expreſſe reſemblencers of his integritie: *Edward*, who ſucceeded in his dignitie, and before was called Duke of Aumerle, and *Richard* Earle of Cambridge. *Edward*, in the change of the ſtate, neyther conſtantlye kept his fidelitie, nor ſtoutly maintained his treaſon, *Richard* tooke to wife the daughter and heyre of *Roger Mortimer*, whoſe mother *Phillip* was ſole daughter and heyre to *Lionell* Duke of Clarence, the third ſonne of King *Edward* the thyrd, by which title and diſcent, his poſteritie claimed the Crowne and Kingdome of this Realme from the ſucceſſours of King *Henrie*, as heereafter more at large ſhall be declared.

Charles King of Fraunce loſt no time al this while in making preparation to inuade England: and to that end had now rayſed an army royall, which was brought down into Picardie, and in a readineſſe to haue beene tranſported. But it is very like that this haſte for the deliuerance of King *Richard* did the more haſten his death: vppon newes whereof the Frenchmen perceiuing their purpoſe for his reſtitution to be to no purpoſe, gaue ouer the enterpriſe; ſome being grieued that the occaſion was loſt of making ſpoile of ſo plentiful a countrie, others being well content to be diſcharged of that hope together with the hazard whervpon it depended. Shortlie after the French King ſent a ſolemne Embaſſage into England, to treate, or rather intreate, that Lady *Iſſabell* his daughter, who had bin eſpouſed to King *Richard*, might with her dowrie bee reſtored to him againe. King *Henrie* moſt honourably receiued theſe Embaſſadours, and gaue in anſwere, that he would ſpeedelie ſend his Commiſſioners to Calice, which ſhould fullye commune and conclude with them, both of this and other weightie affayres concerning both the realmes.

Not long after he ſent *Edward* Duke of Yorke, and *Henrie* Earle of Northumberland to Calice: Alſo the French

King ſent the Duke of Burbone and certaine others to Bullaine. Theſe Commiſſioners did often meete, ſometimes at one place, and ſometimes at another: the Frenchmen eſpecially required, that Lady *Iſabell* ſhould be reſtored, ſhewing that King *Charles* her Father had giuen in charge, that this before all matters, and without this nothing ſhould be concluded. On the other ſide the Engliſhmen deſired that ſhe might be married to *Henrie* Prince of Wales King *Henries* eldeſt Sonne, a man anſwerable to her in equall degree both of bloud and of yeeres: but the French King denyed that he would any more ioyne affinity with the Engliſh nation, whoſe aliance had once ſo vnfortunately ſucceeded: thē they entred into ſpeech of a perpetuall peace, but heereto the Frenchmen would not agree. In the end it was concluded that Lady *Iſabell* ſhould be deliuered to King *Charles* her Father but without Dower; becauſe the marriage betweene King *Richard* and her, was neuer conſummate: by reaſon wherof ſhe was not douable by the very treaty of the marriage. Alſo the ſurceaſe of armes which foure yeeres before had beene made with King *Richard* for the terme of 30 yeeres, was continued and confirmed for the time then vnexpired. Some authors affirme that a newe truce was taken, but theſe alſo are at difference: for ſome report that it was during the life of both the Kinges, others that it was but for a ſhort time, which hath the more apparaunce of truth, by reaſon of the open hoſtilitye which the yeere following did breake foorth betweene the two realmes.

Shortly after King *Henrie* ſent the Lady *Iſabell* vnder the conducte of Lorde *Thomas Pearcy* Earle of Worceſter, in royall eſtate to Calice: ſhe was accompanied with a great troupe of honourable perſonages, both men and women; and carried with her all the Iewelles and plate which ſhee brought into England, with a great ſurple-ſage of rich gifts beſtowed

beſtowed vpon her by the king: at Calice ſhe was receiued by the Earle of S. Paule, Lieutenant for the French King in Picardy, and by him was conducted to king *Charles* her Father, who afterwardes gaue her in marriage to *Charles*, ſonne to *Lewes* Duke of Orleance: and ſo was eyther reſt or reſpite of wars procured in Fraunce, whileſt neerer ſtirres might be brought to ſome ſtay.

For within the realme, the fire and fury of the late ſedition was ſcarcely quenched and quiet, but (that the common wealth ſhould not ceaſe to be torne, by multiplying of diuiſions, one ſtreight ſucceeding another) the Welſhmen, vpon aduantage of the doubtfull and vnſetled eſtate of king *Henrie*, reſolued to breake and make a defection; before eyther the King could ground his authority, or the people frame themſelues to a new obedience: and hauing learned that common cauſes muſt be maintained by concord; they ſought by aſſemblyes to eſtabliſh an aſſotiation: and to ſet vp theyr owne principality againe.

To this purpoſe they created for theyr Prince, *Owen Glendor* an Eſquire of Wales, a factious perſon, and apt to ſet vp diuiſion and ſtrife: and although hee was of no great ſtate in birth; yet was hee great and ſtately in ſtomacke: of an aſpiring ſpirit: and in wit ſomewhat aboue the ordinarie of that vntrained people: boulde, craftie, actiue, and as hee liſted to bend his minde, miſchieuous or induſtrious in equall degree, in deſires immoderate, and raſhlye aduenturous, in his young yeeres hee was brought vp to the ſtudye of the Common Lawe of the Realme, at London: and when hee came to mans eſtate, beſides a naturall fierceneſſe and hatred to the Engliſh name, hee was particularlye incenſed by a priuate ſuite, for certayne landes in controuerſie, betweene the Lord Gray of Ruthen and him; wherein his tytle was ouerthrowne; and being a man by nature not of the myldeſt.

by this prouocation he was made sauadge and rough; determining eyther to repayre or to reuenge his losse, by setting the whole state on fire. Also his expence and liberalitie had bin too excessiue for a great man to endure, which brought him to barenesse too base for a meane man to beare: and therefore he must of necessitie doe and dare somewhat, and more daunger there was in soft and quiet dealing, then in hazarding rashlie. Heerewith opportunitie was then likewise presented: for troublesome times are most fit for great attempts, and some likelyhood there was, whilest the King and the Lordes were hard at variance, that harme might easelie be wrought to them both. Vpon these causes his desire was founded, and vpon these troubles his hope. But that his aspiring and ambitious humour might beare some shew of honest meaning, he pretended to his countrymen the recouerie of their free estate, the desire whereof was so naturally sweete, that euen wilde Birdes will rather liue hardlye at large in the ayre, then bee daintily dyeted by others in a Cage; and opportunitie was at that time fitly offered, or else neuer to be expected, to rid them of their thraldome, falselie and colourablie intituled a peace, whilest the one Kings power was waining, and the other not yet fullye wexen, and either of them grew weake by wasting the other: neither was their any difference which of them should preuayle, sithe the warre touched both alike, insomuch as the ouerthrow would ruine the one, and the victorie the other: So hee exhorted them to take courage and armes: and first to kill all the English within their territories, for libertie and Lordes could not endure together: then to resume their auncient customes and lawes, whereby more then armes, common-wealths are established and enlarged: so should they bee a people vncorrupt, without admixtion of forreine manners of bloud; and so should they forget seruitude, and eyther liue at libertie, or else perhaps, bee Lordes

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ouer othet.

Heerevpon many flocked vnto him, the beſt for loue of libertie, the baſeſt for deſire of bootie and ſpoile, inſomuch as in ſhort time hee became commaunder of competent forces to ſtand openly in the fielde. And being deſirous to make ſome proofe of his prowetſe, he ſharply ſet vppon his ould aduerſarie *Reignold* Lorde Grey of Ruthen, whoſe poſſeſſions he waſted and ſpoyled: ſlew many of his men, and tooke himſelfe priſoner; yet gaue him faire and friendlie intertainment, and promiſed him releaſment, if he would take his daughter to wife. This hee deſired, not ſo much for neede of his abilitie or ayde, as ſuppoſing that the name and countenance of a Lorde, would giue reputation to the houſe that was then but in riſing: But the Lorde Greye at the firſt did not ſo much refuſe as ſcorne the offer: affirming that he was no wardle, to haue his marriage obtruded vppon him. Well (ſayde *Owen Glendore*) although you bee not my warde, yet are you in my warde: and the ſuing of your liuerie will coſt double the marriage money that elſewhere you ſhall procure. The Lorde Grey being not very riche to diſcharge his ranſome, and ſeing no other meanes of his deliuerance, at the laſt accepted the condition, and tooke the damoſell to wife; notwithſtanding his deceitfull Father in lawe trifled out the time of his enlargement vntill hee dyed.

The Welſhmen being confident vppon this ſucceſſe, began to breake into the borders of Hereford ſhire, and to make ſpoyle and pray of the Countrey: againſt whom Lord *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of Marche, who for feare of King *Henrie* had withdrawne himſelfe (as hath been declared) to Wiggmore Caſtle, aſſembled all the Gentlemen of the Countrye, and meeting with the Welſhmen, they ioyned together a ſharpe and cruell conflict: not in forme of a looſe skirmiſh, but ſtanding ſtill and maintaining their place, they

endeuoured with maine might to breake and beare downe one another. The courage and resolution of both sides was alike, but the Welshmen were superiour both for number and direction: for they were conducted by one knowne leader, who with his presence euery where assisted at neede, enflaming his Soldiours, some with shame and reproofe, others with praise and encouragement, all with hope and large promises: but the Englishmen had no certaine generall, but many confused commaunders, yea euery man was a commaunder to himselfe, pressing forward or drawing backe, as his owne courage or feare did moue him. Insomuch as no doubt they had taken a great blow that day by theyr ill gouerned bouldnesse, had not *Owen Glendor* presently vppon the breaking vp of the field, ceased to pursue the execution, and shewed himselfe more able to get a victorie, then skilful to vse it. But euen to his side the victorie had cost bloud, and many of those which remayned, were eyther wounded or wearie: the night was neere also, and they were in their enemies countrie; by which meanes our men had libertie to retire rather then runne away, no man being hoat to follow the chase. They lost of their company about a thousand men, who sould their liues at such a price, that when manhood had doone the hardest against them, certaine mannish, or rather deuilish women, whose malice is immortall, exercised a vaine reuenge vppon their dead bodyes; in cutting off their priuie partes and their noses, whereof the one they stuffed in their mouthes, and pressed the other betweene their buttockes; and would not suffer their mangled carcasses to be committed to the earth, vntill they were redeemed with a great summe of money. By which cruell couetousnesse, the faction lost reputation and credite with the moderate sorte of their owne people; suspecting that it was not libertie but licentiousnesse which was desired: and that subiection to such vnhumaine

mindes would bee more insupportable then anye bondage.

In this conflict the Earle of Marche was taken prisoner and fettered with chaines, and cast into a deepe and vile dungeon. The King was solicited by many noble men, to vse some meanes for his deliuerance; but hee would not heare on that eare; hee could rather haue wished him and his two sisters in heauen, for then the onely blemish to his title had beene out of the way: and no man can tell whether this mischaunce did not preserue him from a greater mischiefe.

Owen Glendor by the prosperous successe of his actions, was growne now more hard to be dealt with, and hautelie minded, and stood euen vpon termes of equalitie with the King: whereupon he proceeded further to inuade the Marches of Wales on the West side of Seuerne; where hee burnt many villages and townes, slew much people, and returned with great prey and prayses of his adherents. Thus he ceased not this yeere to infest the borderers on euery side, amongst whom he found so weake resistance, that he seemed to exercise rather a spoile then a warre. For King *Henrie* was then detained with his chiefest forces, in another more dangerous seruice, which besides these former vexations and hazards, this first yeere of his raigne happened vnto him.

For the Scottes knowing that changes were times most apte for attempt, and vpon aduantage of the absence of all the chiefe Englishe borderers, partly by occasion of the Parlament, and partlie by reason of the plague which was very grieuous that yeere in the North partes of the realme: they made a roade into the Country of Northumberland, and there committed great hauocke and harme. Also on a certaine night they sodainly set vpon the Castle of Werke, the captain wherof sir *Thomas Gray*, was then one of the knights of the Parlament: & hauing slaine the watch partly a sleepe,

partly

partly amazed with feare, they brake in and ſurpriſed the place: which they held a while, and at the laſt ſpoyled and ruined and then departed. Whileſt further harmes were feared this paſſed with light regarde. But when great perils were paſt, as if no worſe misfortune could haue befallen, then was it much ſorrowed and lamented. And in reuenge thereof, the Engliſhmen inuaded and ſpoyled certaine Ilands of Orkney: and ſó the loſſe was in ſome ſorte repayred: yet (as in repriſals of warre it commonlye falleth out) neyther againſt thoſe particular perſons which committed the harme, nor for thoſe which ſuffred it: but one for another were both recompenced and reuenged. Againe the Scottes ſet foorth a fleete, vnder the conduct of Sir *Robert Logon*, with direction to attempt as occaſion ſhould be offered: his firſt purpoſe was againſt our Fiſhermen; but before hee came to any action, he was encountred by certaine Engliſh ſhips, and the greateſt part of his fleete taken. Thus peace ſtill continuing betweene both the realmes, a kinde of theeuiſh hoſtilitie was dayly practiſed, which afterwardes brake out into open warre vppon this occaſion.

George of Dunbarre Earle of the Marches of Scotland, had betrothed *Elizabeth* his daughter to *Dauid*, the ſonne and heyre apparent of *Robert* King of Scottes, and in regard of that marriage to bee ſhortly celebrated and finiſhed, hee deliuered into the Kings hands a great ſumme of money for his daughters dowrie. But *Archibalde* Earle Dowglaſſe diſdaining that the Earle of Marches bloud ſhould be preferred before his, ſo wrought with King *Robert*, that Prince *Dauid* his ſonne refuſed the Earle of Marches Daughter, and tooke to wife *Mariell* Daughter to the Earle Dowglaſſe: Earle *George* not vſed to offers of diſgrace, could hardlye enforce his pacience to endure this ſcorne: and firſt hee demaunded reſtitution of his money,

not

not ſo much for care to obteine, as for deſire to picke an occaſion of breaking his alleageance. The King would make to him neither payment nor promiſe, but trifled him off with many deluſorie and vaine delayes: Whereuppon hee fled with all his familie into England, to *Henrie* Earle of Northumberland, intending with open diſloyaltie both to reuenge his indignitie, and recouer his loſſe. The Engliſhmen with open armes enterteyned the opportunitie; with whoſe helpe and aſſiſtance the Earle made diuers incurſions into Scotland, where he burnt many Townes, and ſlue much people, and daylye purchaſed with his ſworde, great aboundance of bootie and ſpoile.

Heereuppon King *Robert* depriued the Earle of his honour, ſeazed all his goods and poſſeſſions, and wrote vnto King *Henrie*, as hee would haue the truce betweene them any longer to continue; eyther to deliuer vnto him the Earle of Marche and other traytours to his perſon and ſtate, or elſe to baniſh them the realme of England. King *Henrie* perceiuing ſuch iarres to iogger betweene the two realmes, that the peace was already as it were out of ioynt, determined not to looſe the benefit of the diſcontented ſubiects of his enemie: whereuppon hee returned aunſwere to the Heralde of Scotland, that hee was neyther wearie of peace nor fearefull of warrs, and ready as occaſion ſhould change, eyther to hold the one, or hazzard the other: but the worde of a Prince was of great weight; and therefore ſithe hee had graunted a ſafe conduct to the Earle of Marche and his companie, it were an impeachment to his honour, without iuſt cauſe to violate the ſame. Vppon this anſwere the King of Scottes did preſently proclaime open warre againſt the King of England, with bloud, fire, and ſworde.

King *Henry* thought it pollicie, rather to begin the warre in his enemies countrie, then to expect it in their owne, becauſe the land which is the ſeate of the warre, dooth commonly

monly furniſh both ſides with neceſſary ſupply; the friend by contribution, and the enemie by ſpoile. Therefore ſending certaine troopes of horſemen before him, both to eſpie and to induce an vncertaine terrour vppon the enemie, hee entred into Scotland with a puiſſant armie; wherewith hee burnt many Villages and Townes, caſt downe diuerſe Caſtles, and ruined a great part of the townes of Edenborough and Lith, ſparing nothing but Churches and religious houſes: ſo that in all places as he paſſed, the ſpectacle was ougly and griſlie which hee left behind him; bodyes torne in peeces, mangled and putrified limmes, the ayre infected with ſtincke, the ground imbrued with corruption and bloud, the countrie waſted, the Graſſe and corne troden downe and ſpoyled; inſomuch as a man would haue ſayde that warre is an exerciſe not of manhood, but of inhumanitie. They that fledde before the armie, filled all places with feare and terrour, extolling aboue truthe the Engliſh forces, to diminiſh thereby their ſhame in running from ſhame.

In the end of September the King beſieged the Caſtle of Maydens in Edenborough; wherein were *Dauid* Duke of Rothſaye Prince of the realme, and *Archibalde* Earle Dowglaſſe; the inconſtancie of the one, and ambition of the other, were principall cauſes of all this warre.

During this ſiege, *Robert* Duke of Albonye, who was appointed gouernour of the Realme, becauſe the King was ſicke and vnable to rule, ſent an Herauld vnto *Henrie*; aſſuring him vppon his honour that if hee would abyde but ſixe dayes at the moſt, hee would giue him battaile; and eyther remooue the ſiege, or looſe his life.

The King was well pleaſed with theſe tidings, and rewarded the Herauld with a gowne of ſilke and a chaine of gould, and promiſed him in the worde of a Prince, to abide there

there and expect the gouernour, during the time by him prefixed.

The fixe dayes paſſed, almoſt fixe tymes ouer and no more newes was heard of the Gouernour, eythet by preſence or by meſſenger. Winter came on, and victuaile fayled, the Country was cold and fruitleſſe, and it rayned euery day in great abundance; ſo that partly by hunger, partly by diſtemperature of the weather, the Souldiers began to dye of the Flixe; it is very like that theſe accidentes ſtayed the Gouernour from performing his promiſe, for pollicy was againſt it, to hazzard his men in the fielde, when winter and want, two forceable foes had giuen the charge vppon his enemies: certaine it is, that they mooued the King to remooue his ſiege, and to depart out of Scotland, without any battaile or skirmiſh offred.

Both the Wardens of the Marches were all this time in Scotland with the King: vpon which aduantage the Scots did breake into Northumberland, and burnt certaine towns in Bamborough ſhire. The Engliſh men were ſpeedilie vp in armes; but the Scottes more ſpeedily made theyr returne, or elſe no doubt they had been met with and encountered.

Agayne when King *Henry* had diſcharged his armie, the Scottes being deſirous not ſo much of lyfe as of reuenge, made a ſodaine roade into England, vnder the conduct of Sir *Thomas Halibarton* of Dirleton, and Sir *Patricke Hebburne*, of Hales: but all the harme which they wrought dyd rather waken then weaken the Engliſhmen: and they themſelues were ſomewhat encouraged, but nothing enryched, by that which they got.

Not long after, Sir *Patricke Hebburne*, beeing lifted vp in deſire and hope, reſolued to vndertake a greater

enterprise: the people, which are easilye ledde by prosperous successe in great companies resorted to him; but hee was loath to haue more fellowes in the spoile, then hee thought should neede in the daunger: therefore with a competent armie of the men of Loughdeane, he inuaded Northumberland, where he made great spoile, and loaded his Souldiers with prisoners and pray. There was no question made what perill might bee in the returne: Therefore they marched loosselie and licentiouslie, as in a place of great securitie, not keeping themselues to their enfignes and order: but the Earle of Northumberlands Vice-warden, and other Gentlemen of the borders in good arraie, set vppon them at a towne in Northumberland called Nesbitt. The Scottes rallied as well as the sodainenes did serue, and valiantlie receiued the charge; so that the battaile was sharpe and cruel, and continued a good time, with great mortalitie. In the ende the enemies rankes grew thinne, as being rather confusedly shuffled together, then orderly & firmely compacted: and when the Vice-warden felte them weake in the shock, and yeelding vnder his hand, with a companie which he purposely reteyned about him for sodain dispatches and chaunces of warr, he fiercely charged and disordered them, Sir *Patricke Hebburne* being cleane destitute both of counsaile and courage ranne vp and downe from one place to another, commaunding many things, and presently forbidding them againe; and the lesse of force his directions were, the oftener did hee change them: anone (as it happeneth in lost and desperate cases) euerye man became a commaunder, and none a putter in execution: so the rankes loosed and brake, and could not be reunited, the victor hoatly pursuing the aduantage. Then might you haue seene a grieuous spectacle, pursuing, killing, wounding and taking and killing those that were taken, when better were offred: euery where weapons, and dead bodyes, and mangled lims,

laye

laye ſcattered: and ſometimes in thoſe that were ſlaine, appeared at their death both anger and valure. Sir *Patricke Hebburne* thought of nothing leſſe then eyther fleeing or yeelding, but thruſting among the thickeſt of his enemyes, honourably ended his life. Many other of his lineage, and the flower of all Loughdeane were likewiſe ſlaine. There were alſo taken Sir *Iohn* and *William Cockburne*, Sir *William Baſſe*, *Iohn* and *Thomas Hablinſton* Eſquires, and a great multitude of common Soldiours. On the Engliſh ſide no great number was ſlaine; and thoſe of no great ſeruice and degree. And with theſe troubles the firſt yeere of King *Henrie* the fourth ended.

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